



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

The Native
Problem
in
Natal
by Maurice S. Evans.

DT872
E92



THE
NATIVE PROBLEM
IN NATAL.

BY
MAURICE S. EVANS.

PRICE ONE SHILLING

P. DAVIS & SONS,
WEST AND SAVILLE STREETS, DURBAN.

1906.

STANFORD LIBRARIES

DT 872
E 92

AFRICA COLL

23

THE NATIVE PROBLEM IN NATAL.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Last year I had the honour of publishing a small booklet, for the consideration of my fellow Colonists, on the "Problems of Production in Natal," and this made reference to the Native Question in the following terms:

"I have pointed out the tremendous waste to the Colony, resulting from the untaught and slovenly agricultural methods pursued by the natives. Native matters are a thorny subject to touch in Natal. One of the difficulties in connection with it is, that those who have been among these people, and speak Zulu fluently, and are intimate with native customs, generally agree to differ on any point connected with native policy. But we are in power, and it undoubtedly is for the good of all, that political power should remain with us. With power comes responsibility, and if we exercise the one and shirk the other, trouble shall certainly come upon us. Is it impossible for the various sections of Colonists to look at the matter in a broad spirit and not from

the point of view of particular interests? If the native could only be instructed in agriculture, and in some of the cognate handicrafts, so that he could raise a decent crop, mend a plough, and where necessary, manure intelligently, the gain to the Colony would be immense. In our native population we have a big undeveloped asset, now like our rivers, going to waste, and also like them, a possible source of danger. We want fairly intelligent and continuous labour from them, both on their own account and for us as employers, and meantime the only remedy tried, is to import additional Indians, and shelve a question made more thorny and difficult every year that passes. Thus it has gone on for a couple of generations. Unless we face our responsibility, and that right early, it will face us in different and perhaps very unpleasant fashion."

On the last day of last year I published in the Natal papers a letter on Asiatic Labour in South Africa, and *inter alia*, said:—

"The native we have with us and will always have as part of the body politic. The problems he presents to us are many and difficult; hitherto they have never been fairly faced, but a time is coming when we may no longer neglect them."

In writing as I did, I felt that the subjects there introduced, though of very great importance in themselves, were not the great problem of South Africa, and I do not know that I would have put my views on them before the public, had I not intended them to be an introduction to the publication of my opinions of the Native Question

which underlies and enters into both the question of Production, and that of the introduction of Asiatics.

The Native Question is a large and complicated one, and is a matter upon which strong and various views are held, so that any person, no matter how thoughtful or experienced, may well feel the utmost diffidence in dealing with it. Such diffidence I certainly feel. By very reason of the difficult and complicated nature of the problem, Colonists have been prevented from giving it the attention it must receive, if we are to solve that which Providence has put before us. Personally, it is with no light heart I give my views on the question. After years of thought, after innumerable serious conversations with those who have been brought into close touch with the natives, and after observation of the native under many conditions, I feel the difficult nature of the problem more and more, and realize how little I know of the underlying instincts and mental habit of the native. This feeling is shared by many thoughtful men who have been born in the Colony, who are Zulu linguists, and who have been brought into contact with the native at home and abroad. Only the other day one of these said to me: "I thought "at one time I knew the native as intimately as I know "my own people, but the longer I live the more it be- "comes apparent that my knowledge is on the surface, "and the native remains really a closed book to me." While in the Legislative Assembly I was much struck with the fact that when native questions came up for discussion, the members who were expert linguists, and who had been in close touch with these people all their lives, nearly always differed in their opinions as to the manner in which given legislation would be regarded by

the natives. Never did they all agree in their views, and seldom even did two or three so agree; often there were as many opinions as there were expert members.

The late unrest provides an example of how varied are the opinions held even among those who, from their position, should know more of the question than the ordinary citizen. Before the unfortunate affair at Byrne, Government assured us, presumably voicing the opinion of the Native Department, that there was not the slightest cause for anxiety—the natives were perfectly loyal and quiet. Within a few days, Martial Law was proclaimed, and Ministers spoke as if we were in the greatest danger from a general rising. I know men who were out with the columns who say there is no evidence of any combination, that the natives are as alarmed as the timid ones among ourselves. Others say that the Colony has just been saved by a hair's breadth.

Years ago, while seeking for information on the subject, I hung on the breath of the "native expert"—I cannot say I do so to-day. To such a one I go for facts on some particular question regarding native life or customs, but only a few are competent, by outside experience, breadth of view and education, to express their experience in broad generalizations. These few we want, and badly want, to give expression to their opinions and help in the solution of this momentous question.

Feeling, as I do, that the ultimate test of our race in this South-East Africa is the wisdom or otherwise, with which we deal with the Native Question, I regard it a duty, imposed on all who have the welfare of our race, and of the natives at heart, to do what they can to elucidate the problem. While venturing to express my

opinions, I am most willing to alter or to cancel anything I may say, if further light can be thrown on any aspect of the question, and that while I can truthfully say that for years, this matter has never been out of my thoughts, I recognize that the best efforts of many minds are necessary for its solution. Indeed, to a large extent I am but editing, collating information and opinions, gained from many men in all parts of South-East Africa, with the hope that others, better qualified in many respects, may help on the work.

Many are impressed with the immense importance of doing more than has been done in the past, and express the opinion that "something must be done," without giving the subject the hard mental attention that it demands. I must deprecate this attitude; to do something without being fairly certain of our road and its destination may be fatal.

Never forget and never hurry is the true method to adopt. We want a line of policy which must be well considered, and which we must follow for years to come, building on a plan thought out calmly and judicially, and followed in the same spirit. And yet, as one who has given much thought said to me, no step should be taken which should be irrevocable. We will make mistakes however wisely we plan, and it should be possible to retrace or alter without destroying the structure.

For years Natal as a whole has been sunk in apathy on this matter, the danger now is that public attention, being excited by the late unrest, we may rush in without sufficient thought and irremediable damage ensue. I have said that Natal as a whole, has been sunk in apathy, but this is not universally the case. I know many men

who will not, under ordinary circumstances, mention the native question, though for years they have felt it ever present as a black cloud looming over them—men who, not cowards or alarmists, far from it, yet have felt an ever present sense of an essential duty left undone, and which will have to be faced in the future by them or their children. Despairing of a solution, some, on account of this hidden yet ever present problem, would leave the Colony, but feel it their duty to remain, loath to tear up their roots which are in the land. Others are more hopeful, though not seeing a clear lead. To both I appeal to come forward, and try to find a satisfactory solution.

I range myself with those who hold a reasonable optimism. I feel we have a fine race of people given into our charge, a race who, while rapidly changing, are not degenerate—a people who under right guidance are capable of much, and who, under firm, considerate and wise rule are easily governed. Our economic position in Natal is not what its well-wishers would desire; the raw material lies to our hand in the natives—a great, undeveloped asset. But above all, our duty, our clear palpable duty, is in facing our responsibility, and as the ruling race to think for and of this people, and lead them along the right lines of development. No individual or race can stand still, advance or recede they must, and we must control and direct on the higher lines, or worse will be our fate and theirs.

Perhaps it would have been better for the native races, better for ourselves in some respects, had we never come into contact. Many Colonists think that our social and economic conditions would have been sounder had we

found this an empty land, or practically without any native races as was Australia; they hold that we are weakened in fibre by their presence, and much that might have been done had we been thrown on our own resources for all our progress, has been left undone. From the native point of view also, it is open to academic argument whether he was not happier and more contented even under the arbitrary rule of a Tyaka or Dingaan. The system was in many ways suited to his stage of development, the outcome of the genius of the race, and certainly it resulted in an exceptionally fine race physically, and to a certain extent mentally and morally. But these to-day are questions for a debating society. We have come upon the scene, the whole environment of the native is being rapidly altered, and we must deal with things as they are.

CHAPTER II.

PAST AND PRESENT.

Fifty years ago, or more, the natives were living under a political and social system, simple indeed, but suited to them, and which provided for their particular temperament and requirements. Under it, occupation of some kind was provided for all members of the body politic; all they wanted had to be manufactured by themselves, and there was opportunity for the exercise of a certain amount of manual skill and ingenuity. For the men the military organization kept them in disciplined subjection, and war expeditions and hunting, worked off their superabundant energy, while the social and home life included much of interest, such as ancient customs

and folklore, which are now forgotten. To develop their wits and keep them alert was the ever present danger of some arbitrary action on the part of their chiefs acting either on his own initiative or working through the witch doctor. Taking it all in all, their life provided for at least their physical and social instincts, and was adapted to their needs. Now much is changed—military organization, with its attendant discipline and interest we forbid, and hunting is largely of the past. The skill and labour required in the manufacture of their simple weapons and agricultural and domestic utensils are no longer called for—the “winkel” supplies their needs. Some of their old customs are forbidden by the white man, and others, with their interesting folklore, are being rapidly forgotten.

In place of all this they now have a life, secure it is true, no chief can eat them up, but what of interest is there in their lives? Their physical energies are still present, but the old outlets are no more. A full natural life has been artificially restricted, vigorous action and pleasure no longer go hand in hand. Idle in the sense of not doing much continuous work they were in the past, but they were not condemned to inactivity, and their strict social code kept them well under control. Idle they still are, but in a different sense, little pleasurable activity is possible for them, and the day that would have been passed in making weapons or hunting, is now passed in listless laziness. Unfortunately, too, the control, which kept them under discipline, is weakening, and irresponsible and dangerous independence is taking its place.

An active, full-blooded, virile people, kept under these

conditions is unnatural and dangerous. The old order provided for the letting of blood when the native became plethoric, even to those in high places. Here we have a race actually only in the pastoral, hunting and fighting stage, artificially placed under the rule of one in the industrial-commercial stage, and the conditions applicable to and governing the latter, made applicable to the former. Left to themselves the Zulus might have gone on in the old mode for many generations, possibly gradually and harmlessly evolving a higher mode of life, but arbitrarily and within a few years to have their customs and social code broken into by a civilization gradually evolved through hundreds, nay thousands, of years, must be disastrous.

What then is to take the place of their old activities and customs gone for ever? What is to give them the interest in life, and activity which are necessary for a strong race such as they are? I confess I can think but of one which will fit in with our civilization,—demand such exertion from them as will keep their physical energies duly exercised, and at the same time give them an interest in life, which we can recognize and encourage. On this last I place great stress. An uninterested people is a degenerate people, and a degenerate people is a dangerous people, especially when it has the physical power of numbers. The remedy is the old one—work—and to fill the gap properly, to take the place of what we have taken away, it must be more than mere work, done because circumstances drive. The ideal would be willing work done with hope.

We are constantly talking, especially in these late days, of a native policy, and a tackling of the Native Question,

but I have not seen defined in unmistakeable and set phrase, what that policy is or should be, I think it would be well if I now so define it. To the missionary it may be one thing, to the man in the street another, to many, I fear, it only means keeping the native in abject subjection and ensuring the lowest class of manual labour at the lowest possible figure. To these last I would say, their ideal is impossible—if we don't lead the native the native will drive us. But I am trying to look at it from the statesman's point of view, and I would define a native policy as one that aimed at gradually making his surroundings and condition such, that in his humble way he would be a satisfied citizen of the country without any desire to fight against constituted authority. Encourage the native to work, and gradually do more and better work, giving him hope and a lead along the only possible line of development for his good and the good of the Colony.

This, I grant, only deals with the economic and political side of the question, and our natives have a strong emotional side also. I know the opinion of the South African Native Commission, as expressed in their report, is that for the true and lasting development of the native, provision must be made for this also, and they suggest the encouragement of missionary work amongst them. Now I know that many of my fellow Colonists think that missions have done the native actual harm, transforming an honest, simple man into an educated scoundrel. Others who do not go so far, have little or no sympathy with them. Much of this is due, I think, to misapprehension. They see an unpleasantly self-conscious, over-clothed dandy, who has lost the simple, natural, polite manners

of his people, and whose self-assertion grates upon them. They think that an unduly large proportion of the native criminals belongs to this class of native. But it does not necessarily follow that all of these or even many of them owe their unpleasant or criminal habits to association with mission work. Both sides of this particular question have been argued at length in the public Press of the Colony, and I do not intend to enter upon it in detail here.

Missionaries and Mission Stations differ of course. To those who rail at all I would say, go and look at the Inanda Girls' Station, under the rule of Mrs. Edwards. Here girls are taught not only the elements of an ordinary primary education, but habits of order and cleanliness, house-work, laundry-work, and systematic labour in the fields. I think the harshest critic of Missions would come away from such a visit deeply impressed with the work there done. I think, perhaps, on many Stations more attention might be given to the manners of the pupils, which, I admit, sometimes contrast unfavourably with those of the kraal native. Attention to this would go far to remove the prejudices of many. I am endeavouring to elucidate the lines upon which our natives may be led to higher things. the policy we must follow if we are to properly train his dormant faculties, and make him of value to himself and the State, and we must admit the value of the Mission training on his emotional and moral nature.

While Government can do much to encourage the greater use and development of his physical and mental faculties, can use wise control and discipline, and prevent outrageous laxity and insubordination, I

the point of view of particular interests? If the native could only be instructed in agriculture, and in some of the cognate handicrafts, so that he could raise a decent crop, mend a plough, and where necessary, manure intelligently, the gain to the Colony would be immense. In our native population we have a big undeveloped asset, now like our rivers, going to waste, and also like them, a possible source of danger. We want fairly intelligent and continuous labour from them, both on their own account and for us as employers, and meantime the only remedy tried, is to import additional Indians, and shelve a question made more thorny and difficult every year that passes. Thus it has gone on for a couple of generations. Unless we face our responsibility, and that right early, it will face us in different and perhaps very unpleasant fashion."

On the last day of last year I published in the Natal papers a letter on Asiatic Labour in South Africa, and inter alia, said :—

"The native we have with us and will always have as part of the body politic. The problems he presents to us are many and difficult; hitherto they have never been fairly faced, but a time is coming when we may no longer neglect them."

In writing as I did, I felt that the subjects there introduced, though of very great importance in themselves, were not the great problem of South Africa, and I do not know that I would have put my views on them before the public, had I not intended them to be an introduction to the publication of my opinions of the Native Question

which underlies and enters into both the question of Production, and that of the introduction of Asiatics.

The Native Question is a large and complicated one, and is a matter upon which strong and various views are held, so that any person, no matter how thoughtful or experienced, may well feel the utmost diffidence in dealing with it. Such diffidence I certainly feel. By very reason of the difficult and complicated nature of the problem, Colonists have been prevented from giving it the attention it must receive, if we are to solve that which Providence has put before us. Personally, it is with no light heart I give my views on the question. After years of thought, after innumerable serious conversations with those who have been brought into close touch with the natives, and after observation of the native under many conditions, I feel the difficult nature of the problem more and more, and realize how little I know of the underlying instincts and mental habit of the native. This feeling is shared by many thoughtful men who have been born in the Colony, who are Zulu linguists, and who have been brought into contact with the native at home and abroad. Only the other day one of these said to me: "I thought "at one time I knew the native as intimately as I know "my own people, but the longer I live the more it be- "comes apparent that my knowledge is on the surface, "and the native remains really a closed book to me." While in the Legislative Assembly I was much struck with the fact that when native questions came up for discussion, the members who were expert linguists, and who had been in close touch with these people all their lives, nearly always differed in their opinions as to the manner in which given legislation would be regarded by

the natives. Never did they all agree in their views, and seldom even did two or three so agree; often there were as many opinions as there were expert members.

The late unrest provides an example of how varied are the opinions held even among those who, from their position, should know more of the question than the ordinary citizen. Before the unfortunate affair at Byrne, Government assured us, presumably voicing the opinion of the Native Department, that there was not the slightest cause for anxiety—the natives were perfectly loyal and quiet. Within a few days, Martial Law was proclaimed, and Ministers spoke as if we were in the greatest danger from a general rising. I know men who were out with the columns who say there is no evidence of any combination, that the natives are as alarmed as the timid ones among ourselves. Others say that the Colony has just been saved by a hair's breadth.

Years ago, while seeking for information on the subject, I hung on the breath of the "native expert"—I cannot say I do so to-day. To such a one I go for facts on some particular question regarding native life or customs, but only a few are competent, by outside experience, breadth of view and education, to express their experience in broad generalizations. These few we want, and badly want, to give expression to their opinions and help in the solution of this momentous question.

Feeling, as I do, that the ultimate test of our race in this South-East Africa is the wisdom or otherwise, with which we deal with the Native Question, I regard it a duty, imposed on all who have the welfare of our race, and of the natives at heart, to do what they can to elucidate the problem. While venturing to express my

opinions, I am most willing to alter or to cancel anything I may say, if further light can be thrown on any aspect of the question, and that while I can truthfully say that for years, this matter has never been out of my thoughts, I recognize that the best efforts of many minds are necessary for its solution. Indeed, to a large extent I am but editing, collating information and opinions, gained from many men in all parts of South-East Africa, with the hope that others, better qualified in many respects, may help on the work.

Many are impressed with the immense importance of doing more than has been done in the past, and express the opinion that "something must be done," without giving the subject the hard mental attention that it demands. I must deprecate this attitude; to do something without being fairly certain of our road and its destination may be fatal.

Never forget and never hurry is the true method to adopt. We want a line of policy which must be well considered, and which we must follow for years to come, building on a plan thought out calmly and judicially, and followed in the same spirit. And yet, as one who has given much thought said to me, no step should be taken which should be irrevocable. We will make mistakes however wisely we plan, and it should be possible to retrace or alter without destroying the structure.

For years Natal as a whole has been sunk in apathy on this matter, the danger now is that public attention, being excited by the late unrest, we may rush in without sufficient thought and irremediable damage ensue. I have said that Natal as a whole, has been sunk in apathy, but this is not universally the case. I know many men

who will not, under ordinary circumstances, mention the native question, though for years they have felt it ever present as a black cloud looming over them—men who, not cowards or alarmists, far from it, yet have felt an ever present sense of an essential duty left undone, and which will have to be faced in the future by them or their children. Despairing of a solution, some, on account of this hidden yet ever present problem, would leave the Colony, but feel it their duty to remain, loath to tear up their roots which are in the land. Others are more hopeful, though not seeing a clear lead. To both I appeal to come forward, and try to find a satisfactory solution.

I range myself with those who hold a reasonable optimism. I feel we have a fine race of people given into our charge, a race who, while rapidly changing, are not degenerate—a people who under right guidance are capable of much, and who, under firm, considerate and wise rule are easily governed. Our economic position in Natal is not what its well-wishers would desire; the raw material lies to our hand in the natives—a great, undeveloped asset. But above all, our duty, our clear palpable duty, is in facing our responsibility, and as the ruling race to think for and of this people, and lead them along the right lines of development. No individual or race can stand still, advance or recede they must, and we must control and direct on the higher lines, or worse will be our fate and theirs.

Perhaps it would have been better for the native races, better for ourselves in some respects, had we never come into contact. Many Colonists think that our social and economic conditions would have been sounder had we

found this an empty land, or practically without any native races as was Australia; they hold that we are weakened in fibre by their presence, and much that might have been done had we been thrown on our own resources for all our progress, has been left undone. From the native point of view also, it is open to academic argument whether he was not happier and more contented even under the arbitrary rule of a Tyaka or Dingaan. The system was in many ways suited to his stage of development, the outcome of the genius of the race, and certainly it resulted in an exceptionally fine race physically, and to a certain extent mentally and morally. But these to-day are questions for a debating society. We have come upon the scene, the whole environment of the native is being rapidly altered, and we must deal with things as they are.

CHAPTER II.

PAST AND PRESENT.

Fifty years ago, or more, the natives were living under a political and social system, simple indeed, but suited to them, and which provided for their particular temperament and requirements. Under it, occupation of some kind was provided for all members of the body politic; all they wanted had to be manufactured by themselves, and there was opportunity for the exercise of a certain amount of manual skill and ingenuity. For the men the military organization kept them in disciplined subjection, and war expeditions and hunting, worked off their superabundant energy, while the social and home life included much of interest, such as ancient customs

and folklore, which are now forgotten. To develop their wits and keep them alert was the ever present danger of some arbitrary action on the part of their chiefs acting either on his own initiative or working through the witch doctor. Taking it all in all, their life provided for at least their physical and social instincts, and was adapted to their needs. Now much is changed—military organization, with its attendant discipline and interest we forbid, and hunting is largely of the past. The skill and labour required in the manufacture of their simple weapons and agricultural and domestic utensils are no longer called for—the “winkel” supplies their needs. Some of their old customs are forbidden by the white man, and others, with their interesting folklore, are being rapidly forgotten.

In place of all this they now have a life, secure it is true, no chief can eat them up, but what of interest is there in their lives? Their physical energies are still present, but the old outlets are no more. A full natural life has been artificially restricted, vigorous action and pleasure no longer go hand in hand. Idle in the sense of not doing much continuous work they were in the past, but they were not condemned to inactivity, and their strict social code kept them well under control. Idle they still are, but in a different sense, little pleasurable activity is possible for them, and the day that would have been passed in making weapons or hunting, is now passed in listless laziness. Unfortunately, too, the control, which kept them under discipline, is weakening, and irresponsible and dangerous independence is taking its place.

An active, full-blooded, virile people, kept under these

conditions is unnatural and dangerous. The old order provided for the letting of blood when the native became plethoric, even to those in high places. Here we have a race actually only in the pastoral, hunting and fighting stage, artificially placed under the rule of one in the industrial-commercial stage, and the conditions applicable to and governing the latter, made applicable to the former. Left to themselves the Zulus might have gone on in the old mode for many generations, possibly gradually and harmlessly evolving a higher mode of life, but arbitrarily and within a few years to have their customs and social code broken into by a civilization gradually evolved through hundreds, nay thousands, of years, must be disastrous.

What then is to take the place of their old activities and customs gone for ever? What is to give them the interest in life, and activity which are necessary for a strong race such as they are? I confess I can think but of one which will fit in with our civilization,—demand such exertion from them as will keep their physical energies duly exercised, and at the same time give them an interest in life, which we can recognize and encourage. On this last I place great stress. An uninterested people is a degenerate people, and a degenerate people is a dangerous people, especially when it has the physical power of numbers. The remedy is the old one—work—and to fill the gap properly, to take the place of what we have taken away, it must be more than mere work, done because circumstances drive. The ideal would be willing work done with hope.

We are constantly talking, especially in these late days, of a native policy, and a tackling of the Native Question,

but I have not seen defined in unmistakeable and set phrase, what that policy is or should be, I think it would be well if I now so define it. To the missionary it may be one thing, to the man in the street another, to many, I fear, it only means keeping the native in abject subjection and ensuring the lowest class of manual labour at the lowest possible figure. To these last I would say, their ideal is impossible—if we don't lead the native the native will drive us. But I am trying to look at it from the statesman's point of view, and I would define a native policy as one that aimed at gradually making his surroundings and condition such, that in his humble way he would be a satisfied citizen of the country without any desire to fight against constituted authority. Encourage the native to work, and gradually do more and better work, giving him hope and a lead along the only possible line of development for his good and the good of the Colony.

This, I grant, only deals with the economic and political side of the question, and our natives have a strong emotional side also. I know the opinion of the South African Native Commission, as expressed in their report, is that for the true and lasting development of the native, provision must be made for this also, and they suggest the encouragement of missionary work amongst them. Now I know that many of my fellow Colonists think that missions have done the native actual harm, transforming an honest, simple man into an educated scoundrel. Others who do not go so far, have little or no sympathy with them. Much of this is due, I think, to misapprehension. They see an unpleasantly self-conscious, over-clothed dandy, who has lost the simple, natural, polite manners

of his people, and whose self-assertion grates upon them. They think that an unduly large proportion of the native criminals belongs to this class of native. But it does not necessarily follow that all of these or even many of them owe their unpleasant or criminal habits to association with mission work. Both sides of this particular question have been argued at length in the public Press of the Colony, and I do not intend to enter upon it in detail here.

Missionaries and Mission Stations differ of course. To those who rail at all I would say, go and look at the Inanda Girls' Station, under the rule of Mrs. Edwards. Here girls are taught not only the elements of an ordinary primary education, but habits of order and cleanliness, house-work, laundry-work, and systematic labour in the fields. I think the harshest critic of Missions would come away from such a visit deeply impressed with the work there done. I think, perhaps, on many Stations more attention might be given to the manners of the pupils, which, I admit, sometimes contrast unfavourably with those of the kraal native. Attention to this would go far to remove the prejudices of many. I am endeavouring to elucidate the lines upon which our natives may be led to higher things, the policy we must follow if we are to properly train his dormant faculties, and make him of value to himself and the State, and we must admit the value of the Mission training on his emotional and moral nature.

While Government can do much to encourage the greater use and development of his physical and mental faculties, can use wise control and discipline, and prevent outrageous laxity and insubordination, I

do not see how they can instil principles and provide the inward guide to conduct which is the special function of the missionaries. Therefore, when satisfied that the conduct of Missions is on right lines, when Government feels that the teaching will result in increased loyalty, discipline, and proper control, it should be the duty of the Native Department to give much greater encouragement than has been given in the past, recognizing that on proper lines Missions are undertaking a class of developmental work almost impossible to the secular Government, and yet absolutely necessary to the all-round and satisfactory progress of the native.

The South African Native Commission, to whose opinion on this matter reference has been made, consisted of men of both British and Dutch descent, of wide experience of native matters, Natal being represented by the Hon. Marshall Campbell, M.L.C., and Mr. Samuelson, the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs. None could be considered as representing the interests of Missions, some indeed before the Enquiry began would have been generally regarded as adverse to them, and yet we find the following opinions and recommendations in their most valuable report: (Clause 283), "For the moral improvement of the native, there is available no influence equal to that of religious belief." (Clause 286), "The Commission considers that the restraints of the law furnish an inadequate check upon the tendencies towards demoralization, and that no merely secular system of morality that might be applied, would serve to raise the natives' ideals of conduct, or to counteract the evil influences which have been alluded to, and is of opinion that hope for the elevation of the native race must depend mainly upon their

acceptance of Christian faith and morals." (Clause 289), It does not seem practicable to propose any measure of support or aid to the purely spiritual side of missionary enterprise, but the Commission recommends full recognition of the utility of the work of the churches which have undertaken the duty of evangelizing the heathen, and has adopted the following resolution:—(a) The Commission is satisfied that one great element for the civilization of the natives is to be found in Christianity; (b) The Commission is of opinion that regular moral and religious instruction should be given in all Native Schools."

CHAPTER III.

REFORMS IN ADMINISTRATION.

Before endeavouring to outline a native policy fulfilling the conditions I have laid down, I would like to point to several obvious reforms in Native Administration which have been shown to be absolutely necessary by what has transpired during the late period of unrest.

Apart from any definite line of policy, which appears to have been quite absent from the minds of the Native Authorities, sufficient has been shown to clearly indicate that the administration of the Native Affairs Department, has been exceedingly lax, that those who are supposed to look after native interests have been negligent, and that there has not been that close investigation and constant watchfulness and thought which are absolutely essential to wise and good government of natives. Everyone who has had experience of governing these people, those who have been most successful with them,

know that constant vigilance and forethought are necessary. You must show them that you can predict, anticipate events, and order things accordingly; your hand on ordinary occasions must be light. Unnecessary interference and over-much regulation must be avoided, but when occasion requires the hand that is ordinarily light must be heavy and strong. You must provide the mental power and prescience they so lack, and your rule must be that of the iron hand in the velvet glove.

How lamentably the Native Affairs Department has failed in this, recent affairs show. But my object is not to cast stones, little can now be gained by going over the past. I want to help to build for the future. At the same time we must and at once put right the defects in Administration so clearly shown.

First, it is essential that our Magistrates should be men who, by age, character, ability, and experience, are fitted to command the respect and willing obedience of the natives. We all know that this has not been the case in the past. Boys have been placed in charge of large native districts, and it is impossible for such to have the necessary control. The private character of others has been such that the natives openly scoffed at them. We all know the influence a strong character and personality have upon these people, who are keen judges of character, and the influence for good a respected Magistrate can have is immense. In a district with a large native population there had been a weak, incompetent representative of the Government, and the natives were disrespectful on the roads and at the Court. A strong Magistrate was appointed, and without any undue exercise of authority, within a month, the whole attitude of the

native population in the district was changed for the better. The Colony cannot in this matter afford to be bound by red tape, rules of the Service, seniority, and all the excuses made by or for incompetence. The best and most suitable men must be got, and Parliament should absolutely refuse to listen to the grievances or supposed grievances of those who, while unfit, think they should get or keep appointments on which the good government, nay the safety of the Colony depends.

Another important detail which must be put right is the attitude of the clerks and indunas of the Court to natives attending the Court on business. In far too many cases, the convenience of these people seems to be a matter of utter indifference to those placed in positions of authority, and often, in addition, natives are treated in the roughest manner. A good Magistrate will not, of course, allow this, but many of our Magistrates exercise little control over those under them, and there is much improper use of authority. Instances could be given of natives who have travelled scores of miles being unable to get attention, others in which they have been called upon without sufficient cause, others in which they have been unjustly treated.

We were favoured lately by the visit of a gentleman, Natal born and bred, who occupies a high official position in another Colony, and whose impressions of what he saw here were most valuable by reason of his wide experience, and the fact that he could look at Natal and its affairs from an impartial and outside standpoint. I was much struck with his remarks on this particular matter. During his stay with us he had seen natives treated by public officials with such

scant civility, with such little regard for their feelings or convenience that he predicted trouble from this cause alone unless it was reformed.

Until some three years ago it was possible for a chief on going through certain reasonable formalities, to obtain an interview with the Secretary for Native Affairs, when he could air his grievances, make requests, give information, to keep the Head of the Department in touch with what was troubling or interesting the people in his district. This was at the same time a safety valve and a source of intelligence.

A regulation was issued prohibiting any chief from visiting the Secretary for Native Affairs unless he had first made a deposition before the Resident Magistrate, stating his business, his reasons for the visit, etc. This deposition was to be sent to the Head of the Department, and on the statements there made permission was granted or refused. I know this interposition was felt in some cases to be unwise and unjust by the chiefs, and instead of visiting Pietermaritzburg, and giving information, getting advice, and keeping the Department in touch with the people, they simply stayed at home and nursed grievances which might, by a few words and the exercise of a little tact, have been removed. The greatest possible good might accrue from interviews between chiefs and their rulers, when managed with dignity, tact, and discretion. We want to know all possible regarding the feelings, wishes, aspirations, difficulties of these people; accurate knowledge is what we most lack, and here was an open door closed against it.

The utter want of thought and care in making the chiefs, and through them the people, acquainted with im-

portant changes in the laws and regulations affecting them has been shown during our time of disquietude. One would have thought the utmost solicitude would have been shown by the Department to make those affected by the poll tax fully acquainted with its provisions, that the proper channels for conveying information would have been used, the chiefs officially and clearly informed so that no possible misconception would arise. We find that, after the Magistrates were going round to collect the tax, four or five months before it was due, there were chiefs, who had never been officially informed, who had, as they said, only heard it "with their mouths" and not through their ears. These chiefs naturally fell out of touch with Government, and resented what appeared to be a slight put upon them. How could they be expected to keep due authority over their people and make them observe the law, when the authorities did not trouble to make them acquainted with their duty! Imagine the position of a chief, who, while the country is filled with rumours as to amount of the tax, the people from whom it is due, the due date of payment, the exceptions—I say imagine the feelings of a chief who when approached by his people for accurate information could only say that Government had not informed him, and who could only approach Government for the information through the Magistrate. Yet we make the chief responsible for his tribe.

In the greater light which has been thrown on Native Affairs in these latter days we find there has been much feeling among the natives with regard to the imposition, by regulation, during the last two or three years of £3 per hut on those having huts on Mission Reserves, whereas

previously only a much smaller amount was demanded, and there are cases of hardship in connection therewith.

Many consider also—and I am one of them—that the old practice of calling upon chiefs to furnish men for the road parties is wrong in principle, and works much mischief. In the case of strong chiefs it puts an arbitrary power into their hands, which is often used with slight regard to justice. In the case of old or weak chiefs it is exceedingly and increasingly difficult for them to comply with the demands of Government. We have been doing much, consciously and unconsciously, to reduce the power of the chiefs, and yet demand from them the exercise of a despotic authority which in some cases we have weakened to naught. Cases could be given in which heavy and increasing fines have been imposed on them for not providing the stated number of men when it was practically impossible for them to comply. The economic value of this forced labour may be seen by anyone who takes the trouble to watch the operations of an average road party. Far better pay full wages and get willing workers, or let the road contracts out to men who could command such.

A great evil, at present not under control of Government, but which demands the serious attention of Parliament, is the practice of Europeans lending money to natives at usurious rates of interest. It is quite common to demand 2s. 6d. per month, as interest on the loan of a £1; 150 per cent. per annum! and there are many cases of natives being “eaten up” by interest—cow and calf together. Some Magistrates recognize these practices, others do not, and this differentiation causes additional grievances. The simple fools go on paying

these rates, and I don't suppose they would regard it as a grievance common to all, for a native having made a bargain regards it as his own fault if it is a bad one, but those who have lost their all through these usury transactions undoubtedly have an effect on general native opinion, and it is general native opinion which makes the attitude of the people towards the Europeans and the Government, and nothing but harm to our race can come from this practice.

Great loss occurs to natives through the facility with which they enter upon litigation and the cost imposed upon them, by reason of the employment of solicitors in their cases. There are many honourable men in the profession of the law who would scorn to deal unfairly with the natives in the matter of law charges and advice. Unfortunately for the Colony at large, there are others whose only aim seems to be to prolong litigation and make as much as they can out of the native, irrespective of his interests. The result is not only heavy loss to those engaged, but most unfortunately also a feeling among these people that a judgment may be bought; and that not the justice of his cause, but the length of his purse will get the verdict of the Court. Thus again is the law brought into disrepute amongst them.

Mr. R. Plant, Inspector of Native Schools, has written a most valuable book, "The Zulu in Three Tenses," which should be read by every Colonist who wishes to study the Native Question, and in which, in this regard he makes the following statement and recommendation:—"On account of the peculiarities of the native mind and their very keen sense of fairness, it is very important that the justice of

but I have not seen defined in unmistakeable and set phrase, what that policy is or should be, I think it would be well if I now so define it. To the missionary it may be one thing, to the man in the street another, to many, I fear, it only means keeping the native in abject subjection and ensuring the lowest class of manual labour at the lowest possible figure. To these last I would say, their ideal is impossible—if we don't lead the native the native will drive us. But I am trying to look at it from the statesman's point of view, and I would define a native policy as one that aimed at gradually making his surroundings and condition such, that in his humble way he would be a satisfied citizen of the country without any desire to fight against constituted authority. Encourage the native to work, and gradually do more and better work, giving him hope and a lead along the only possible line of development for his good and the good of the Colony.

This, I grant, only deals with the economic and political side of the question, and our natives have a strong emotional side also. I know the opinion of the South African Native Commission, as expressed in their report, is that for the true and lasting development of the native, provision must be made for this also, and they suggest the encouragement of missionary work amongst them. Now I know that many of my fellow Colonists think that missions have done the native actual harm, transforming an honest, simple man into an educated scoundrel. Others who do not go so far, have little or no sympathy with them. Much of this is due, I think, to misapprehension. They see an unpleasantly self-conscious, over-clothed dandy, who has lost the simple, natural, polite manners

of his people, and whose self-assertion grates upon them. They think that an unduly large proportion of the native criminals belongs to this class of native. But it does not necessarily follow that all of these or even many of them owe their unpleasant or criminal habits to association with mission work. Both sides of this particular question have been argued at length in the public Press of the Colony, and I do not intend to enter upon it in detail here.

Missionaries and Mission Stations differ of course. To those who rail at all I would say, go and look at the Inanda Girls' Station, under the rule of Mrs. Edwards. Here girls are taught not only the elements of an ordinary primary education, but habits of order and cleanliness, house-work, laundry-work, and systematic labour in the fields. I think the harshest critic of Missions would come away from such a visit deeply impressed with the work there done. I think, perhaps, on many Stations more attention might be given to the manners of the pupils, which, I admit, sometimes contrast unfavourably with those of the kraal native. Attention to this would go far to remove the prejudices of many. I am endeavouring to elucidate the lines upon which our natives may be led to higher things. the policy we must follow if we are to properly train his dormant faculties, and make him of value to himself and the State, and we must admit the value of the Mission training on his emotional and moral nature.

While Government can do much to encourage the greater use and development of his physical and mental faculties, can use wise control and discipline, and prevent outrageous laxity and insubordination, I

do not see how they can instil principles and provide the inward guide to conduct which is the special function of the missionaries. Therefore, when satisfied that the conduct of Missions is on right lines, when Government feels that the teaching will result in increased loyalty, discipline, and proper control, it should be the duty of the Native Department to give much greater encouragement than has been given in the past, recognizing that on proper lines Missions are undertaking a class of developmental work almost impossible to the secular Government, and yet absolutely necessary to the all-round and satisfactory progress of the native.

The South African Native Commission, to whose opinion on this matter reference has been made, consisted of men of both British and Dutch descent, of wide experience of native matters, Natal being represented by the Hon. Marshall Campbell, M.L.C., and Mr. Samuelson, the Under-Secretary for Native Affairs. None could be considered as representing the interests of Missions, some indeed before the Enquiry began would have been generally regarded as adverse to them, and yet we find the following opinions and recommendations in their most valuable report: (Clause 283), "For the moral improvement of the native, there is available no influence equal to that of religious belief." (Clause 286), "The Commission considers that the restraints of the law furnish an inadequate check upon the tendencies towards demoralization, and that no merely secular system of morality that might be applied, would serve to raise the natives' ideals of conduct, or to counteract the evil influences which have been alluded to, and is of opinion that hope for the elevation of the native race must depend mainly upon their

acceptance of Christian faith and morals." (Clause 289), It does not seem practicable to propose any measure of support or aid to the purely spiritual side of missionary enterprise, but the Commission recommends full recognition of the utility of the work of the churches which have undertaken the duty of evangelizing the heathen, and has adopted the following resolution :—(a) The Commission is satisfied that one great element for the civilization of the natives is to be found in Christianity ; (b) The Commission is of opinion that regular moral and religious instruction should be given in all Native Schools."

CHAPTER III.

REFORMS IN ADMINISTRATION.

Before endeavouring to outline a native policy fulfilling the conditions I have laid down, I would like to point to several obvious reforms in Native Administration which have been shown to be absolutely necessary by what has transpired during the late period of unrest.

Apart from any definite line of policy, which appears to have been quite absent from the minds of the Native Authorities, sufficient has been shown to clearly indicate that the administration of the Native Affairs Department, has been exceedingly lax, that those who are supposed to look after native interests have been negligent, and that there has not been that close investigation and constant watchfulness and thought which are absolutely essential to wise and good government of natives. Everyone who has had experience of governing these people, those who have been most successful with them,

know that constant vigilance and forethought are necessary. You must show them that you can predict, anticipate events, and order things accordingly; your hand, on ordinary occasions must be light. Unnecessary interference and over-much regulation must be avoided, but when occasion requires the hand that is ordinarily light must be heavy and strong. You must provide the mental power and prescience they so lack, and your rule must be that of the iron hand in the velvet glove.

How lamentably the Native Affairs Department has failed in this, recent affairs show. But my object is not to cast stones, little can now be gained by going over the past. I want to help to build for the future. At the same time we must and at once put right the defects in Administration so clearly shown.

First, it is essential that our Magistrates should be men who, by age, character, ability, and experience, are fitted to command the respect and willing obedience of the natives. We all know that this has not been the case in the past. Boys have been placed in charge of large native districts, and it is impossible for such to have the necessary control. The private character of others has been such that the natives openly scoffed at them. We all know the influence a strong character and personality have upon these people, who are keen judges of character, and the influence for good a respected Magistrate can have is immense. In a district with a large native population there had been a weak, incompetent representative of the Government, and the natives were disrespectful on the roads and at the Court. A strong Magistrate was appointed, and without any undue exercise of authority, within a month, the whole attitude of the

native population in the district was changed for the better. The Colony cannot in this matter afford to be bound by red tape, rules of the Service, seniority, and all the excuses made by or for incompetence. The best and most suitable men must be got, and Parliament should absolutely refuse to listen to the grievances or supposed grievances of those who, while unfit, think they should get or keep appointments on which the good government, nay the safety of the Colony depends.

Another important detail which must be put right is the attitude of the clerks and indunas of the Court to natives attending the Court on business. In far too many cases, the convenience of these people seems to be a matter of utter indifference to those placed in positions of authority, and often, in addition, natives are treated in the roughest manner. A good Magistrate will not, of course, allow this, but many of our Magistrates exercise little control over those under them, and there is much improper use of authority. Instances could be given of natives who have travelled scores of miles being unable to get attention, others in which they have been called upon without sufficient cause, others in which they have been unjustly treated.

We were favoured lately by the visit of a gentleman, Natal born and bred, who occupies a high official position in another Colony, and whose impressions of what he saw here were most valuable by reason of his wide experience, and the fact that he could look at Natal and its affairs from an impartial and outside standpoint. I was much struck with his remarks on this particular matter. During his stay with us he had seen natives treated by public officials with such

scant civility, with such little regard for their feelings or convenience that he predicted trouble from this cause alone unless it was reformed.

Until some three years ago it was possible for a chief on going through certain reasonable formalities, to obtain an interview with the Secretary for Native Affairs, when he could air his grievances, make requests, give information, to keep the Head of the Department in touch with what was troubling or interesting the people in his district. This was at the same time a safety valve and a source of intelligence.

A regulation was issued prohibiting any chief from visiting the Secretary for Native Affairs unless he had first made a deposition before the Resident Magistrate, stating his business, his reasons for the visit, etc. This deposition was to be sent to the Head of the Department, and on the statements there made permission was granted or refused. I know this interposition was felt in some cases to be unwise and unjust by the chiefs, and instead of visiting Pietermaritzburg, and giving information, getting advice, and keeping the Department in touch with the people, they simply stayed at home and nursed grievances which might, by a few words and the exercise of a little tact, have been removed. The greatest possible good might accrue from interviews between chiefs and their rulers, when managed with dignity, tact, and discretion. We want to know all possible regarding the feelings, wishes, aspirations, difficulties of these people; accurate knowledge is what we most lack, and here was an open door closed against it.

The utter want of thought and care in making the chiefs, and through them the people, acquainted with im-

portant changes in the laws and regulations affecting them has been shown during our time of disquietude. One would have thought the utmost solicitude would have been shown by the Department to make those affected by the poll tax fully acquainted with its provisions, that the proper channels for conveying information would have been used, the chiefs officially and clearly informed so that no possible misconception would arise. We find that, after the Magistrates were going round to collect the tax, four or five months before it was due, there were chiefs, who had never been officially informed, who had, as they said, only heard it "with their mouths" and not through their ears. These chiefs naturally fell out of touch with Government, and resented what appeared to be a slight put upon them. How could they be expected to keep due authority over their people and make them observe the law, when the authorities did not trouble to make them acquainted with their duty! Imagine the position of a chief, who, while the country is filled with rumours as to amount of the tax, the people from whom it is due, the due date of payment, the exceptions—I say imagine the feelings of a chief who when approached by his people for accurate information could only say that Government had not informed him, and who could only approach Government for the information through the Magistrate. Yet we make the chief responsible for his tribe.

In the greater light which has been thrown on Native Affairs in these latter days we find there has been much feeling among the natives with regard to the imposition, by regulation, during the last two or three years of £3 per hut on those having huts on Mission Reserves, whereas

previously only a much smaller amount was demanded, and there are cases of hardship in connection therewith.

Many consider also—and I am one of them—that the old practice of calling upon chiefs to furnish men for the road parties is wrong in principle, and works much mischief. In the case of strong chiefs it puts an arbitrary power into their hands, which is often used with slight regard to justice. In the case of old or weak chiefs it is exceedingly and increasingly difficult for them to comply with the demands of Government. We have been doing much, consciously and unconsciously, to reduce the power of the chiefs, and yet demand from them the exercise of a despotic authority which in some cases we have weakened to naught. Cases could be given in which heavy and increasing fines have been imposed on them for not providing the stated number of men when it was practically impossible for them to comply. The economic value of this forced labour may be seen by anyone who takes the trouble to watch the operations of an average road party. Far better pay full wages and get willing workers, or let the road contracts out to men who could command such.

A great evil, at present not under control of Government, but which demands the serious attention of Parliament, is the practice of Europeans lending money to natives at usurious rates of interest. It is quite common to demand 2s. 6d. per month, as interest on the loan of a £1; 150 per cent. per annum! and there are many cases of natives being “eaten up” by interest—cow and calf together. Some Magistrates recognize these practices, others do not, and this differentiation causes additional grievances. The simple fools go on paying

these rates, and I don't suppose they would regard it as a grievance common to all, for a native having made a bargain regards it as his own fault if it is a bad one, but those who have lost their all through these usury transactions undoubtedly have an effect on general native opinion, and it is general native opinion which makes the attitude of the people towards the Europeans and the Government, and nothing but harm to our race can come from this practice.

Great loss occurs to natives through the facility with which they enter upon litigation and the cost imposed upon them, by reason of the employment of solicitors in their cases. There are many honourable men in the profession of the law who would scorn to deal unfairly with the natives in the matter of law charges and advice. Unfortunately for the Colony at large, there are others whose only aim seems to be to prolong litigation and make as much as they can out of the native, irrespective of his interests. The result is not only heavy loss to those engaged, but most unfortunately also a feeling among these people that a judgment may be bought; and that not the justice of his cause, but the length of his purse will get the verdict of the Court. Thus again is the law brought into disrepute amongst them.

Mr. R. Plant, Inspector of Native Schools, has written a most valuable book, "The Zulu in Three Tenses," which should be read by every Colonist who wishes to study the Native Question, and in which, in this regard he makes the following statement and recommendation:—"On account of the peculiarities of the native mind and their very keen sense of fairness, it is very important that the justice of

the Magistrates' decisions should be fully recognized by them. To secure this, it would be well that Courts for the trial of native cases, that is cases between one native and another, should be Courts of Equity, as distinct from Courts of Law. No law agent of any kind should be allowed to practice in these Courts; there should be no third party between the Magistrate and the parties bring-
ing the case; the evidence should be heard in full, and the decision should be based on the evidence adduced." Those interested will find fault with this view, and bring forward all kinds of reasons to show why it is impossible to act upon it, but when, as in this case, the interests of Colonist and native alike demand that the present practice cease, surely the interests of a section cannot be allowed to stand in the way of Reform.

Perhaps even a greater evil than this is the excessively high rents charged to natives for the right to squat on private lands. The system of kafir farming, by which land owners, resident and absentee, are enabled to get a return in rent from natives to keep their lands unproductive in the proper sense of the term, has been one of the main reasons for the lack of agricultural development in Natal. At the same time the high rent demanded and obtained from the natives has been the cause of much dissatisfaction among them in the past, and if continued will be one of the most potent causes for trouble in the future. The rents so charged run from £2 to £5 per hut, and generally carry with them rights which the land-owners claim are fair equivalents for this rent.

Usually the native tenant is allowed the choice of ploughable land, and can run as many head of stock as he chooses. At first sight this seems

a fair return for the rent charged. But the native is such a slovenly cultivator, and his stock brings in so little in the shape of ready money, that he often finds it difficult to meet the rent charge, and all over the Colony dissatisfaction is growing on account of the difficulty they experience in paying these high rents.

We are endeavouring, in Natal, to begin to tax the land, which undoubtedly is a right method of raising revenue, and has had, in many countries, the collateral benefit of causing land to be put into the market and beneficially occupied, which before was only ineffectively occupied, or held for speculative purposes. I am afraid though, this result will not be effected to the same extent in Natal. The kafir farmer, who will be principally affected by the measure, will compensate himself for the enforced payment, by introducing more natives on his farms, and making up for the tax by demanding more rent. What is intended by Government and the Legislature to be a beneficial measure, forcing land into cultivation and increasing the revenue by contributions from a class who should pay, and have been hitherto free, may only result in bringing native troubles closer to our doors.

In Cape Colony, I understand, there is an Act providing that any farm having more than a certain limited number of native tenants, becomes a Private Location, and the landowner is liable for a certain sum per head to Government for all over the stipulated legal number. I am told that the effect is what one would predict—the landowner pays the tax and recovers from the tenants. Would it not be possible in Natal to improve on this? While enacting the provision, that the presence of over a certain number of huts on a farm, constituted it a

Private Location, also provide that the question of rent, and the privileges of the tenant, must be under the supervision of the Governor in Council, whose duty, in this regard, must be to prevent unfair and dangerous rack-renting. Permission to establish a private location must be obtained from the Executive, and only would be granted when it was established that the terms and conditions between landlord and tenant were fair and equitable.

I know this suggestion will be condemned as an unwarrantable interference with the right of a man to do what he likes with his own, but we in Natal are in a peculiar position, and have little of precedent to guide us, so must work out our own salvation on original lines, due to our exceptional environment. The danger to the State, in allowing the present practice to continue unchecked, is admitted by all who know the country districts, and if precedent is demanded by those who feel such an innovation dangerous to the rights of private property, I must refer them to the land legislation of Ireland passed both by Conservative and Liberal Governments of Great Britain.

Sir J. Liege Hulett, in a recent speech, stated that the relations between the natives and the Natal Police were very unsatisfactory. He accused the latter of immorality, and the charge is, unfortunately, in cases, a true one. The question is difficult and delicate, but is undoubtedly one which must be faced by Government. Those in authority should not tolerate it for a moment, but see that drastic punishment follows the offence. We are trying as a race to command the respect of this subject people, while those who represent our authority are,

in too many cases, bringing our race and our Government into contempt and disrepute. No action a white man can commit so quickly brings loss of prestige than this referred to by Sir Liege Hulett.

In too many cases also the Police are new to the country, are quite unable to speak the Zulu language, are mere boys, and cannot command the respect of the natives. I know the difficulty experienced in getting responsible Colonial men to join the force, but an alteration in this respect must be made. The change initiated by the late Mr. Escombe by which the police are removed from the authority of the Magistrates has, in the opinion of many, been a mistake, belittling the Magistrate in the eyes of the natives, and taking away a control which tended to efficiency.

In the same category is the illicit sale of liquor to natives, which goes on, with little or no check, certainly with no efficient check, in town and country alike. It is bad enough when white and coloured men and women of indifferent character make unholy gains by pandering to the lowest passions of the natives, but it is worse when the practice is connived at by the Police. How can we expect our natives to continue to respect our authority and law, when, all over the country, they see white men continually breaking it!

Those who travel through the country with open eyes, may see natives freely obtaining the drink forbidden by the law, and the very men paid to see the law carried out, allowing it to be broken before their very eyes. The wonder is not that the natives get out of hand, and lose their respect for the European and his laws, but that they are so much under control and

as law-abiding as they are. This evil will grow, and a heavy reckoning will come, unless the rapid demoralization caused by this unholy traffic ceases.

There is another matter for which the Native Affairs Department cannot be blamed, but which is largely responsible for the attitude of our natives towards Europeans. This is the indiscreet manner in which many white people treat the natives with whom they come into contact. The native expects a European to act with dignity, and when, as is too often the case, he finds not dignity, but undue familiarity, his respect for the white man ceases. In our towns he sees much that lowers his respect for us, and it is the duty of every European to see that in his dealings with natives his actions are such as will uphold our prestige, that nothing is done to lower our race in his eyes.

In all I have to said about the Native Department, I do not wish it to be inferred that I charge them with wilful harshness and injustice to our native population. The slanders on Natal and its Colonists made by some English politicians and newspapers are utterly untrue. But we have been slack in our administration, often careless as to the effect on the native mind—our faults have been those of laxity, perhaps more mischievous in the long run than a harsh strong rule.

CHAPTER IV.

A POLICY FOR THE FUTURE.—THE KRAAL NATIVE.

So far, I have spoken of weak places in our Administration, some of which have been brought out by the recent unrest, and others have been familiar to Colonists for long enough, but have been allowed to continue through weakness, carelessness, or worse. Reform in our methods, along these recognized lines, and the removal of the abuses already mentioned, would alone do much to make our relations with the natives more salutary to him and less dangerous to us. With the exception perhaps of the changes recommended in connection with the land, they contain no new features to us in Natal, and nothing for which we cannot get some sanction from laws or regulations adopted in other countries. Those of us, though, who regard the Native Question as the important one for us, want more than Reform of Administration on present lines; the slackness and incompetence shown by recent events cannot be allowed to continue. Whatever views Colonists may hold with regard to a Native Policy for the future,, all must be agreed on Reform of our Administrative methods. Granted this then, cannot we go further, and while there is still time frame a policy along which we may safely go for future years, to the benefit of the natives and ourselves?

Here, I would like to mention one or two conditions,

which, I think, must govern the deliberations of those who endeavour to evolve such a policy. First, I am convinced, that while perfect justice and the greatest firmness are necessary, it is also essential that those framing and carrying out a policy should have a wise sympathy for those for whom we are called upon to legislate and administer the laws framed.

As I would deprecate anything like weakness or timidity in our policy, or in carrying it into effect, so I would ask that whilst framing and when administering it we should more consider than has been always the case in the past, the point of view of the subject race, not only how the policy and legislation will affect us, but also how it will affect them. A distinguished visitor, of world-wide experience, a soldier, administrator and author, speaking on the subject in Durban, said: "Never will you succeed in your native administration, unless you have sympathy with them. No subject race was ever satisfactorily ruled without consideration for them on the part of the rulers." In any case our task is immensely difficult; try as we will we cannot see things through their eyes; mistakes we must make, but if we are animated by a wish to do the best for them, and the best for our country, we have a chance of success. To simply exploit them for our gain irrespective of their feelings, desires, aspirations, is to be condemned to failure ere we start.

I honestly think that the best class of native would be quick to recognize a change in our attitude to them, and would appreciate it, and such appreciation would make our task an infinitely easier one. I would here like to quote Mr. Plant's remarks, and recommend my fellow Colonists to read the full text. He says (pp. 115 and

116), "Influences have forced upon them the conclusion that such a relationship (the sympathetic and helpful relationship of father to child) has not entered into our plans, and a growing suspicion, too well founded, has been induced, that we only seek to make a convenience of them, that it is our purpose to repress instead of helping any effort on their part at honest improvement, that, in fact, if anything is ever done by us that appears for their benefit the cloven hoof of self interest is easily detected."

To remove this impression and substitute a feeling that our actions were actuated by a real desire for their good, to remove suspicion and replace it by trust, would be to begin our new work on a solid and lasting foundation indeed.

I advocate no weakness in dealing with them. Found guilty punishment should be heavy, and of this the criminal would be the last to complain. They do not understand or appreciate maudlin humanitarianism, but will always take their gruel like men when they have done wrong. There is, in their blood, reverence for authority, and authority exercised with the utmost sternness. Heavy punishment for undoubted crime will not constitute a grievance with our natives.

I think in framing any general line of policy, we should also clearly understand we are not dealing, as in past years, with a homogeneous mass with ideas and instincts common to all. The natives have been gradually altered, and the differentiation has, in its extreme measure, been as great or even greater than that between the highest and the lowest, the richest and poorest, the wisest and

most ignorant, among ourselves. It is, of course, impossible to grade them and apply a different line of conduct towards all the different grades. But to be successful we must recognize that many of these people have acquired habits and tastes which place them in a totally different class to the ordinary tribal location native; what is properly applicable to the latter, is totally unfitted for the former.

For the purpose of our policy, it will, however, be sufficient to distinguish between the ordinary native of the traditional kraal, living a tribal life under his chief, and the advanced native who has renounced his tribe and polygamy, clothes decently, lives in a square house, and has some education. This latter need not, necessarily, be a Christian native, but he is one who has come out of the old life, and is trying to live on civilized lines. He cannot and must not be confounded with those he has left, or with the life they lead.

Not that I wish them, not that their wisest well-wishers would have them, not that they themselves desire, to be made white men. The best class of advanced natives recognize the vast difference in race and development between themselves and the European. They may wish for greater recognition, for more help and encouragement in their efforts and aspirations to improve themselves, but they want to be good black men, not imitation white men. And in this they are truly wise. Only foolish would-be friends or those who are enemies would wish them to ape the white man in all his ways.

In any scheme for the better Government of these people, for a long time the personal element must be predominant. The wisest systems, if placed in the hands

of unwise, inexperienced administrators, will fail. Our natives are in the stage when the man is everything, when the system, in itself, counts for little; by character and tradition they look to the chief for advice and help. Thus it must be in our policy. The careful appointment of the right class of Magistrates will do much, the greatest care and thought must be given to the higher appointments in the Administration.

Now that public attention has been so largely directed to this question, many well-meaning Colonists, who sincerely desire to do the right and just thing to these our wards, have advocated some method of Native Representation. They feel they have no means of knowing the wants, aspirations, grievances of the native population, and, desiring to do what is right by them, naturally think that if they were represented in some way, a means would thus be found by which they could supply the knowledge they lack, and thus legitimate grievances might be remedied.

The case for representation, direct or indirect, in Parliament, is strengthened by the opinions on this question arrived at and published in the admirable report of the South African Commission on Native Affairs. But we must in the first place, remember that this Commission was a South African one, and not a Natal one. They were concerned to find a solution for this difficulty, which would be applicable not only to one part but to the whole of South Africa, and the position is governed by the fact that the franchise has already been granted to the natives in Cape Colony. The Commissioners evidently felt that it was impossible to sweep away, by fresh legislation, privileges already granted,

and which had been exercised for many years, and their conclusions were of the nature of a compromise. They dreaded the rapid increase of the native electorate in Cape Colony, which will probably, in a very few years, bring the black voter in open conflict with the white, and in order to frame a system applicable to such different conditions as those of Rhodesia, the Transvaal, Natal, and Cape Colony, advocated, on the one hand, a limitation in the latter Colony and a great extension of political power to the natives in the others. An extension which in all probability they would have been more chary in recommending had it not been for the necessity of finding some common policy, applicable to the different conditions and political systems of the various States.

In Natal various schemes are in the air, viz. :—

(a) The appointment of European members by the Governor or High Commissioner, to sit in the Assembly to represent the natives.

(b) An Advisory Board on Native Affairs, that would appoint some of their number to represent natives in the House.

(c) A Pitso of Chiefs to meet under a European chairman, the Secretary of Native Affairs, or another, and talk over Native Affairs, their opinions being voiced in the House by the Secretary of Native Affairs.

With reference to recommendations (a) and (b), I feel it is more than probable, that such appointments would only lead to conflict between the members representing the European electorate and the nominated members. If the House was evenly divided into parties, as was the case before the present Coalition Government came into power, the few native representatives would hold

the balance of power, and it does not need a very vivid imagination to foresee the attitude of the average European voter, when native representatives caused the fall of the Ministry they supported, or were the means of raising to power the representatives of opponents. This is the kind of step that, once taken, could not be retraced, which I deprecated in the earlier part of my remarks. Cape Colony is in this difficulty now, the blanket vote is growing stronger and stronger, and how can they take away privileges once given?

To Europeans, especially those of British race, the natural solution of such difficulties, as we have in our Native Problem, is representation. Let them speak for themselves either personally or by deputy, and they can work out their own salvation, is the underlying idea. This would be perfectly right if we were dealing with men of our own race, or of those allied to us by blood and descent. It is also the easiest way out of our difficulty, and probably, if some form of representation was given, our consciences would be eased, and we would go on our way thinking we had done all that was necessary—until the inevitable conflict ensued, and the native and his interests went to the wall, and then our last condition would be worse than the first.

No, our way is not so clear; we have much arduous work in building up—in character, in knowledge, in industry, before we can accept representation as the solution of our difficulty. We have the responsibility of the governing race; we cannot transfer it by throwing part of it on to those who are yet children; we must take the white man's burden, and do the thinking for yet a long time.

I would keep the native from participation in politics for the present at all events. What, to my mind, he requires is firm, wise, considerate, personal rule, a quiet, undisturbed time in which to develope, requiring our constant attention, teaching, and supervision, and there is no easy method by which we can perform this duty. I think representation, any voice, even an indirect one, in the politics of the State, would unsettle him, and give him false ideas. Politics are a selfish business at best, class struggling against class, each for its particular advantage, and I would keep him free from this. We must take another and more difficult way to find out his requirements, and we must take the personal responsibility of seeing that he gets justice and consideration as a parent does with his child. I am speaking, at present, of the natives as a whole, and I feel that it would be unwise and against their best interests, to give them representation at present, even in a modified form. But, when we come to consider the special case of advanced natives, we must look at the subject from a somewhat different point of view.

For the whole of the natives, the best form of Government at present, is along the same lines as that on which their own social policy is framed—one of personal rule. This applies specially to the ordinary native living in his tribe, under his chief, in the ancestral fashion. There have been men who have advocated the breaking up of the old social system—I am not of these. Both the family and tribal authority should be kept up. It is bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, and we have nothing they could understand that can possibly take its place. The position is at present an anomalous one;

we have consciously and unconsciously, directly and indirectly, been weakening the power and control of the chiefs. When the natural consequences ensue and the young men become insubordinate, and regard not the advice and warning of the chiefs and headmen, we make the chief responsible for this bad conduct. We must make up our minds and take a definite line of policy, and all the best opinion is on the side of strengthening the authority of the father and of the chief. Undermine this authority, allow every man to have full liberty to do what is right in his own eyes, and order ceases, and we have a rabble of vagabonds on our hands, impossible to identify or control.

Besides being essential to the well-being of the ordinary natives, the tribal system makes our task of government infinitely more easy and infinitely safer than would be the case if it were broken up. By it, any man may be identified, and the whole native population of the Colony dealt with, in their natural divisions; and inter-tribal jealousies make combination under one head for general action against constituted authority, almost impossible. Unfortunately, there are blots upon the system; it permits favouritism, and puts much power into the hands of the chief, often used very unjustly. Judicious supervision, while not destroying the dignity of the office, might prevent gross abuse and accomplish much. It is suggested by Mr. Plant, and the same suggestion has often been made by others, that fines and fees which, at present are perquisites of the chief, should go to the Treasury, and a larger stated annual allowance should be made to the chief in lieu of these moneys. Also that cases of insubordina-

tion and disrespect to the chiefs should be tried by the Magistrates, and dealt with severely.

Disregard and defiance of paternal control is working immense harm among the younger generation. Boys leave home to work when the discipline of home is most needed. They come into town, and the employer does not concern himself with manners and morals, except as they affect his comfort, or interfere with the boy's work. And so, an undisciplined, ill mannered, immoral generation is growing up, degenerate as compared with their fathers. We should do all possible to uphold strict parental control, and discountenance all attempts at disrespect or defiance.

My friend, Mr. G. S. Armstrong, M.L.A., who knows the native intimately, and is one of those (all honour to them) who wish to preserve the morale and character of this fine people, advocate a system of apprenticeship for these young lads to reputable Europeans. The European must undertake to teach the boy some definite craft, gardening, stable work, cooking, or other, and the parent must give his consent. He thinks that fathers would welcome this; they would know their sons were in good hands, under control; they could visit them, instead of, as at present losing touch with their boys, and finding in some instances they were being utterly demoralized.

With regard then to the ordinary kraal native, the first point in a definite policy is to uphold parental and tribal control.

Feeling, as I do, that the natural and proper method of governing our natives is by personal rule, by a man and not a system, I am, with the great majority of those who *think on this subject*, of the opinion that to rule them

through a removable Secretary for Native Affairs is a huge mistake. How can the native understand the intricacies of our system of Responsible Government, the struggles of Party for Power—the man they are to-day told to look up to as their Head, to-morrow discredited! And with each new man comes a change of regulations bewildering and apparently without reason.

Nearly all those who wish well to the natives take this view, and many of them demand that the Secretary for Native Affairs shall be a permanent official, but I am afraid few recognize the difficulty of making such a change under our present system of government. Responsible Government is perhaps the best form for the Anglo Saxon and Celt, gradually worked out during the centuries. Personal liberty broadening from precedent to precedent is the gradual outcome of the genius of our race, but it is about the worst for a native race, accustomed only to personal rule for generations under unchanging conditions.

Yet how are we to have a fixed native policy sufficiently elastic to gradually broaden as they develop, and free from sudden changes which they cannot understand, and at the same time subject to the will of the European electorate? A plan may be framed, yet I confess it can only work satisfactorily if the electors of the Colony exercise great self restraint, if they recognize, that on this subject their knowledge is limited, that to rush in where angels fear to tread means disaster, that having done their best to find the right men to carry out a policy framed after the greatest thought and consideration, they must implicitly trust these men. It runs counter to all our British ideas of Government respon-

sible to the people, of free criticism, and of public meetings. Yet, the alternative, which is to continue on our present lines, is, according to all who are qualified to judge, to court further and probably ever-increasing trouble.

Some suggestions have been made in the Press. A thoughtful letter appeared written by Mr. A. K. Murray, who advocated the partition of the Colony into four divisions, in each of which should be a Resident Commissioner of high character and of experience, with large powers to represent the Government. Mr. Murray deserves the thanks of Colonists for interesting himself in the question, and giving us the benefit of his wide experience. At first sight, I was inclined to favour the suggestion, as it gives what we want in the matter of personal rule,—the natives, instead of a nebulous Government have a man to look up to, resident in their midst, always accessible to them.

Further consideration, however, makes me think a better way may be found. Even granting it possible to find four men fully qualified for such an important position, and this would be a real difficulty, it is unlikely that each would interpret the wishes of the Government in the same way, and undoubtedly there would be disparity in their methods of administration where uniformity is so eminently desirable.

More desirable, I think, would be the appointment of one Commissioner, or at all events, one for Natal proper and one for Zululand, to take a higher position than that of Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, with large powers and prestige, conferred publicly by Government. The general line of Native Policy must, of course, be decided by Parliament, in which body would sit a Secretary for

Native Affairs as at present, responsible to the people and removable, as at present, at the public will. But such Secretary for Native Affairs must not personally come into contact with the natives; he need not necessarily be known to them; the person representing the Government on all ordinary occasions must be the Commissioner, and on high and special occasions the Supreme Chief.

This necessarily puts great power into the hands of one man, but it might be well to have some other and additional means of conveying to him the wishes of Colonists other than through Parliament by the voice of the Secretary for Native Affairs. This might be provided by the appointment of a Native Advisory Board, nominated by the Governor in Council, drawn from different parts of the Colony—men thoroughly acquainted with the natives and trusted by them. All those having direct dealings with the natives in the way of trade I would debar from membership. Such Board might meet periodically, presided over by the Secretary for Native Affairs, with the Commissioner present, talk over and advise on any matter affecting the native population. By this means both the Secretary for Native Affairs and Commissioner might be kept in touch with the feelings of the natives in different parts of the Colony, and the opinions of Colonists on native matters.

Mr. Edward Saunders suggests in addition to an Advisory Board of Colonists, that the chiefs should also, from time to time, be consulted. He suggests that the Colony be divided into districts, and a chief be elected by his fellows to represent each district, and these chiefs to be called up when required for an expression of their

views. By this means the native feeling would be known; it would be an honour much appreciated, and this would form a medium through which the policy of Government would be carried to the people.

But, equally with the Secretary for Native Affairs, I would bar the European members of such Advisory Board from coming in actual contact with natives in their official capacity; this must be the function of the Commissioner. Further, to do what is possible to prevent one man rule, and the issue of ill considered regulations, I would make it necessary that all regulations or minor changes in policy affecting natives should be considered by the Governor in Council; and that no such alterations should be possible by the Secretary for Native Affairs alone. Of course, as in all matters mundane, all depends on the man, but given the right man I think this manner of Government would be a great improvement on the present. All depends on the wise choice of a few men.

What then is the broad policy to be carried out by these men? Parliament will decide upon that, but, as I said before, the only salvation for our natives is along the line of work—interested, willing work. At present the position is deplorable—it could hardly be worse. Hundreds of thousands of men and women of great physical strength and natural intelligence, are wasting their powers in idleness or working in such slovenly, ill-taught fashion, that their efforts are, in large part, wasted. In both the publications to which I referred at the beginning of this article, I have done all I could to draw attention to the immense waste of labour going on in the Colony by reason of the ill-taught, unregulated

nature of most of the native labour, both that employed by Europeans and that done by the natives at their homes.

The economic waste is such as would make angels weep and drive mad a captain of industry, accustomed to organized and intelligent labour. Visit a farm, or watch a road party, investigate almost any place in Natal at which native labour is employed, and you will find waste of time and muscle, preventable breakage of implements and machinery, and wastage of materials going on. At their homes the best part of the labour given in tilling the soil is labour wasted. The ground is surface-ploughed only, no manure is used, no method adopted—the result only a percentage of what could be grown by proper methods. The economic waste both to Europeans and natives in Natal, by such ill-regulated, untaught work is enormous, but it goes on year after year. Familiarity breeds blindness, and little effort is made at improvement. I said the salvation of the native is in work, willing work with hope and progress in it, but at present if he works for an employer it is because he is forced by want of ready money to do so, and for as short a time as possible does he labour. Because he is at work to-day and gone to-morrow, because the employer often finds it difficult to convey instructions by reason of his inability to speak Zulu, because low-priced labour has blunted his natural desire to make the labour offered effective, the worker gets little or no instruction, and leaves at the end of his six months' work about as inefficient as he started. Exceptions there are, I know, to such ; there are natives who return again and again, who give good, well-taught reliable service, but I am speaking of the general rule not

the exception. Still some of us who know the capabilities of these people, are assured it is not from lack of ability on their part, that this wasteful process goes on. The country will never be productive as it might be: Nature will never yield the wealth latent in the land until we can organize and teach the labourers.

Speaking still of the ordinary kraal native, although there would be many disappointments and much patience would be required, I think we might, by persevering on right lines, instruct him so that both for himself and employer he might be a really valuable asset to the Colony. Better still, a proper method would give the worker something to look forward to in his work, would give him what he lacks—an interest and hope in his labour: if he saw progress was being made we might get at last hopeful willing work to take the place of the activities he has lost, and redeem him from his present listless demoralized state.

To this end I would advocate that men acquainted with good agricultural methods should be appointed as supervisors in locations, and instructed to advise and help the natives to better agricultural methods. Many means might be adopted—a small plot might be well cultivated and manured, and the results pointed out. Instead of sowing broadcast as at present instruction might be given to plant so that a scuffle could be used instead of the time-wasting hoe. Good seed of improved varieties might be supplied. Encouragement might be given to them to grow crops which, though not payable to a European farmer, would pay the native.

The supervisor might also act as a labour agent. I am convinced, that in many cases, natives remain idle at

home, lacking the power of initiative to go out to work, until actually compelled by circumstances to do so. They do not know exactly where to go to find an employer, they may happen on a harsh and unsympathetic one, and hesitation means continued idleness. If the supervisor could give them a note to a known European employer, their confidence in him, if he was the right man, would encourage others to go out when otherwise they would delay or not go at all.

I would advocate some form of training school in the locations under practical men, speaking Zulu, to teach the simpler forms of handicraft, so that when employed by a farmer they could intelligently use or mend a plough, or any simple implement, put up or repair a fence, mend, or perhaps even in time, help to make a cart. With this for the younger people I would have a school where they might be taught English, reading, writing, and a little arithmetic, with moral and religious instruction, as recommended by the South African Commission, and would lay great stress on the virtues of order, punctuality, neatness, and cleanliness.

One of the reasons why native labour is so ill-taught, is that there is no medium for instruction between employer and native excepting kitchen kafir, in which it is impossible for the employer to accurately express his meaning, and misconception ensues—the waste of time and effort from this source alone is appalling. A native speaking English, would be amenable to instruction and infinitely more valuable to the employer; the same remarks apply to reading and writing. It is painful, at present, to see natives with bundles of letters striving to find places, the names of which are plainly legible, and

which, could they read, they would find at once. Again consider the saving of time and effort. At present, if an employer wants to leave instructions with a native servant—to say bring a horse at a certain hour, he probably tells him to "Leta ihashi umbechi scat," and the native, unable to tell the time, brings it long before or long after the required time, wastes time or gets into trouble, all for want of not having been taught how to read the clock.

I believe the natives, when they found that this instruction enabled them to get larger crops and higher wages, would welcome it, and be eager to take advantage of it. Also, apart from the actual manual training acquired, the habits of punctuality, order, and cleanliness, which they would learn would be invaluable to them and to employers. The taxpayer need not fear any large increase in colonial expenditure. I do not advocate big, brick-built, industrial schools, highly paid professors, nor expensive boarding arrangements. All could be done in the simplest way. The buildings could be made of local material, the labour found by those under instruction, their food could largely be grown—I would go slowly, tentatively, see results from small beginnings before launching out, never despairing under discouragement, for good results must eventually follow. The policy is absolutely right, and in other directions a willing, intelligent supervisor might do much good.

While in the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony lately, I was struck by the fact that many of the natives owned and possessed flocks of merino sheep. They sold wethers to the butcher and wool for export. Here is an asset to the country practically absent in Natal. What

articles for export does our native produce except a few hides when his cattle die? I am fully aware that much of the country occupied by our natives is unsuitable for merino sheep, but could they not be encouraged to go in for Afrikander, or Persian, or cross-bred sheep, which would live in places where merinos cannot? These sheep might take the place of the comparatively worthless goats they at present keep; such a change would advantage them and the Colony also. In some parts Angora goats might replace the common ones, and valuable hair be produced, whereas now there is nothing.

I have said that this instruction would enable them to earn higher wages. In regard to this it may be said: We don't want native wages raised; they get too much as it is, and it is bad policy for the European to lay out money in providing instruction for them, which has the effect of raising wages against him. Here I would say, in the first place I would not give anything but advice to the native gratis; if he was supplied with seed, with material, or any other tangible article, he should pay for it, and he would then value it more. But if better service is given the remuneration should go up, too, and I am certain that it would be far better for employers and the Colony, in the long run, that one intelligent, instructed native should do more work and better work than two do at present, even if he must get a higher wage.

Here I must protest against one of the sayings current in Natal, and which passes from mouth to mouth until it becomes crystallized, and no one dreams of contradicting it, and so it is accepted as an axiom without enquiry. This is, that a native only wants to earn a certain amount

of money, and this once obtained, his wants are satisfied, and he remains at his kraal idle and unproductive; consequently the higher wages he receives the shorter time he works. It is, therefore, in the interests of the community, that his wages should be low that the benefit of his labour may be received for a longer period. Now this is, at best, only a part truth.

In my own experience I know natives who for fifteen or twenty years have received much above the ordinary rate of wages, and who to-day are working as regularly as they did when I first knew them. I know one old man who was about the first native I saw when I landed in the Colony nearly thirty-one years ago. He was then in receipt of wages higher than the common, as he was known and appreciated, and only the other day I saw him working as usual. A friend and correspondent in the Transvaal, with a most intimate knowledge of natives, and who is brought into daily contact with them, tells me this is also his experience. He personally knows highly-paid natives from Natal by the score, who return constantly to work in Johannesburg, though the amount of money they earn must total up to a large sum.

The fact is that the wants of the native are constantly increasing. As he gets more money he spends more money, and once embarked on a certain line of expenditure he has (like the white man) to continue, he cannot stop, so must work to supply his acquired wants. The line of policy I am advocating will ensure this to a large degree, as it progresses, and instead of a population requiring only salempore, beads, and a few blankets, you *will get one* demanding a large variety of goods, for which

they must work more constantly than in the past. This increased trade and demand for goods will benefit all in Natal, Government and individuals alike. The native trade going through East London to the advanced native population of the Transkei, has done much to make up for the loss of their carrying trade to the Transvaal; indeed without this native trade it would be difficult to see how that port, and other towns in the Eastern Province, could have lived through the depressed times.

The appointment of the right stamp of men as supervisors in the locations would not only tend to improve the natives, but might be a great help to the Government. We know now, how poor has been the intelligence department of the native authorities—such men would be eyes and ears to Government, and might give the most useful information. I know there have been supervisors before, and it will be said they were of little use in this respect. But will anyone, who knows, say the right men were appointed? Here, as elsewhere, through the native department, the greatest care must be taken to get the right men. This only means that we must do our business in a business-like way. And it can be done.

Now another point. At present the natives complain that the locations are getting overcrowded, there is no room for them, and they are driven to live on private farms, and have to pay high rents, higher, they allege, than they can manage to pay. And, *per contra*, farms which formerly supported large numbers of natives are being taken up for European occupation, and notice is given to the natives to quit. Where are they to go, with the locations as they say, crowded out? I know an instance in which a friend of mine bought a 6,000

sible to the people, of free criticism, and of public meetings. Yet, the alternative, which is to continue on our present lines, is, according to all who are qualified to judge, to court further and probably ever-increasing trouble.

Some suggestions have been made in the Press. A thoughtful letter appeared written by Mr. A. K. Murray, who advocated the partition of the Colony into four divisions, in each of which should be a Resident Commissioner of high character and of experience, with large powers to represent the Government. Mr. Murray deserves the thanks of Colonists for interesting himself in the question, and giving us the benefit of his wide experience. At first sight, I was inclined to favour the suggestion, as it gives what we want in the matter of personal rule,—the natives, instead of a nebulous Government have a man to look up to, resident in their midst, always accessible to them.

Further consideration, however, makes me think a better way may be found. Even granting it possible to find four men fully qualified for such an important position, and this would be a real difficulty, it is unlikely that each would interpret the wishes of the Government in the same way, and undoubtedly there would be disparity in their methods of administration where uniformity is so eminently desirable.

More desirable, I think, would be the appointment of one Commissioner, or at all events, one for Natal proper and one for Zululand, to take a higher position than that of Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, with large powers and prestige, conferred publicly by Government. The general line of Native Policy must, of course, be decided by Parliament, in which body would sit a Secretary for

Native Affairs as at present, responsible to the people and removable, as at present, at the public will. But such Secretary for Native Affairs must not personally come into contact with the natives; he need not necessarily be known to them; the person representing the Government on all ordinary occasions must be the Commissioner, and on high and special occasions the Supreme Chief.

This necessarily puts great power into the hands of one man, but it might be well to have some other and additional means of conveying to him the wishes of Colonists other than through Parliament by the voice of the Secretary for Native Affairs. This might be provided by the appointment of a Native Advisory Board, nominated by the Governor in Council, drawn from different parts of the Colony—men thoroughly acquainted with the natives and trusted by them. All those having direct dealings with the natives in the way of trade I would debar from membership. Such Board might meet periodically, presided over by the Secretary for Native Affairs, with the Commissioner present, talk over and advise on any matter affecting the native population. By this means both the Secretary for Native Affairs and Commissioner might be kept in touch with the feelings of the natives in different parts of the Colony, and the opinions of Colonists on native matters.

Mr. Edward Saunders suggests in addition to an Advisory Board of Colonists, that the chiefs should also, from time to time, be consulted. He suggests that the Colony be divided into districts, and a chief be elected by his fellows to represent each district, and these chiefs to be called up when required for an expression of their

views. By this means the native feeling would be known; it would be an honour much appreciated, and this would form a medium through which the policy of Government would be carried to the people.

But, equally with the Secretary for Native Affairs, I would bar the European members of such Advisory Board from coming in actual contact with natives in their official capacity; this must be the function of the Commissioner. Further, to do what is possible to prevent one man rule, and the issue of ill considered regulations, I would make it necessary that all regulations or minor changes in policy affecting natives should be considered by the Governor in Council; and that no such alterations should be possible by the Secretary for Native Affairs alone. Of course, as in all matters mundane, all depends on the man, but given the right man I think this manner of Government would be a great improvement on the present. All depends on the wise choice of a few men.

What then is the broad policy to be carried out by these men? Parliament will decide upon that, but, as I said before, the only salvation for our natives is along the line of work—interested, willing work. At present the position is deplorable—it could hardly be worse. Hundreds of thousands of men and women of great physical strength and natural intelligence, are wasting their powers in idleness or working in such slovenly, ill-taught fashion, that their efforts are, in large part, wasted. In both the publications to which I referred at the beginning of this article, I have done all I could to draw attention to the immense waste of labour going on in the Colony by reason of the ill-taught, unregulated

nature of most of the native labour, both that employed by Europeans and that done by the natives at their homes.

The economic waste is such as would make angels weep and drive mad a captain of industry, accustomed to organized and intelligent labour. Visit a farm, or watch a road party, investigate almost any place in Natal at which native labour is employed, and you will find waste of time and muscle, preventable breakage of implements and machinery, and wastage of materials going on. At their homes the best part of the labour given in tilling the soil is labour wasted. The ground is surface-ploughed only, no manure is used, no method adopted—the result only a percentage of what could be grown by proper methods. The economic waste both to Europeans and natives in Natal, by such ill-regulated, untaught work is enormous, but it goes on year after year. Familiarity breeds blindness, and little effort is made at improvement. I said the salvation of the native is in work, willing work with hope and progress in it, but at present if he works for an employer it is because he is forced by want of ready money to do so, and for as short a time as possible does he labour. Because he is at work to-day and gone to-morrow, because the employer often finds it difficult to convey instructions by reason of his inability to speak Zulu, because low-priced labour has blunted his natural desire to make the labour offered effective, the worker gets little or no instruction, and leaves at the end of his six months' work about as inefficient as he started. Exceptions there are, I know, to such; there are natives who return again and again, who give good, well-taught reliable service, but I am speaking of the general rule not

the exception. Still some of us who know the capabilities of these people, are assured it is not from lack of ability on their part, that this wasteful process goes on. The country will never be productive as it might be; Nature will never yield the wealth latent in the land until we can organize and teach the labourers.

Speaking still of the ordinary kraal native, although there would be many disappointments and much patience would be required, I think we might, by persevering on right lines, instruct him so that both for himself and employer he might be a really valuable asset to the Colony. Better still, a proper method would give the worker something to look forward to in his work, would give him what he lacks—an interest and hope in his labour; if he saw progress was being made we might get at last hopeful willing work, to take the place of the activities he has lost, and redeem him from his present listless demoralized state.

To this end I would advocate that men acquainted with good agricultural methods should be appointed as supervisors in locations, and instructed to advise and help the natives to better agricultural methods. Many means might be adopted—a small plot might be well cultivated and manured, and the results pointed out. Instead of sowing broadcast as at present instruction might be given to plant so that a scuffler could be used instead of the time-wasting hoe. Good seed of improved varieties might be supplied. Encouragement might be given to them to grow crops which, though not payable to a European farmer, would pay the native.

The supervisor might also act as a labour agent. I am convinced, that in many cases, natives remain idle at

home, lacking the power of initiative to go out to work, until actually compelled by circumstances to do so. They do not know exactly where to go to find an employer, they may happen on a harsh and unsympathetic one, and hesitation means continued idleness. If the supervisor could give them a note to a known European employer, their confidence in him, if he was the right man, would encourage others to go out when otherwise they would delay or not go at all.

I would advocate some form of training school in the locations under practical men, speaking Zulu, to teach the simpler forms of handicraft, so that when employed by a farmer they could intelligently use or mend a plough, or any simple implement, put up or repair a fence, mend, or perhaps even in time, help to make a cart. With this for the younger people I would have a school where they might be taught English, reading, writing, and a little arithmetic, with moral and religious instruction, as recommended by the South African Commission, and would lay great stress on the virtues of order, punctuality, neatness, and cleanliness.

One of the reasons why native labour is so ill-taught, is that there is no medium for instruction between employer and native excepting kitchen kafir, in which it is impossible for the employer to accurately express his meaning, and misconception ensues—the waste of time and effort from this source alone is appalling. A native speaking English, would be amenable to instruction and infinitely more valuable to the employer; the same remarks apply to reading and writing. It is painful, at present, to see natives with bundles of letters striving to find places, the names of which are plainly legible, and

which, could they read, they would find at once. Again consider the saving of time and effort. At present, if an employer wants to leave instructions with a native servant—to say bring a horse at a certain hour, he probably tells him to "Leta ihashi umbechi scat," and the native, unable to tell the time, brings it long before or long after the required time, wastes time or gets into trouble, all for want of not having been taught how to read the clock.

I believe the natives, when they found that this instruction enabled them to get larger crops and higher wages, would welcome it, and be eager to take advantage of it. Also, apart from the actual manual training acquired, the habits of punctuality, order, and cleanliness, which they would learn would be invaluable to them and to employers. The taxpayer need not fear any large increase in colonial expenditure. I do not advocate big, brick-built, industrial schools, highly paid professors, nor expensive boarding arrangements. All could be done in the simplest way. The buildings could be made of local material, the labour found by those under instruction, their food could largely be grown—I would go slowly, tentatively, see results from small beginnings before launching out, never despairing under discouragement, for good results must eventually follow. The policy is absolutely right, and in other directions a willing, intelligent supervisor might do much good.

While in the Eastern Province of the Cape Colony lately, I was struck by the fact that many of the natives owned and possessed flocks of merino sheep. They sold wethers to the butcher and wool for export. Here is an asset to the country practically absent in Natal. What

articles for export does our native produce except a few hides when his cattle die? I am fully aware that much of the country occupied by our natives is unsuitable for merino sheep, but could they not be encouraged to go in for Afrikander, or Persian, or cross-bred sheep, which would live in places where merinos cannot? These sheep might take the place of the comparatively worthless goats they at present keep; such a change would advantage them and the Colony also. In some parts Angora goats might replace the common ones, and valuable hair be produced, whereas now there is nothing.

I have said that this instruction would enable them to earn higher wages. In regard to this it may be said: We don't want native wages raised; they get too much as it is, and it is bad policy for the European to lay out money in providing instruction for them, which has the effect of raising wages against him. Here I would say, in the first place I would not give anything but advice to the native gratis; if he was supplied with seed, with material, or any other tangible article, he should pay for it, and he would then value it more. But if better service is given the remuneration should go up, too, and I am certain that it would be far better for employers and the Colony, in the long run, that one intelligent, instructed native should do more work and better work than two do at present, even if he must get a higher wage.

Here I must protest against one of the sayings current in Natal, and which passes from mouth to mouth until it becomes crystallized, and no one dreams of contradicting it, and so it is accepted as an axiom without enquiry. This is, that a native only wants to earn a certain amount

of money, and this once obtained, his wants are satisfied, and he remains at his kraal idle and unproductive; consequently the higher wages he receives the shorter time he works. It is, therefore, in the interests of the community, that his wages should be low that the benefit of his labour may be received for a longer period. Now this is, at best, only a part truth.

In my own experience I know natives who for fifteen or twenty years have received much above the ordinary rate of wages, and who to-day are working as regularly as they did when I first knew them. I know one old man who was about the first native I saw when I landed in the Colony nearly thirty-one years ago. He was then in receipt of wages higher than the common, as he was known and appreciated, and only the other day I saw him working as usual. A friend and correspondent in the Transvaal, with a most intimate knowledge of natives, and who is brought into daily contact with them, tells me this is also his experience. He personally knows highly-paid natives from Natal by the score, who return constantly to work in Johannesburg, though the amount of money they earn must total up to a large sum.

The fact is that the wants of the native are constantly increasing. As he gets more money he spends more money, and once embarked on a certain line of expenditure he has (like the white man) to continue, he cannot stop, so must work to supply his acquired wants. The line of policy I am advocating will ensure this to a large degree, as it progresses, and instead of a population requiring only salem pore, beads, and a few blankets, you will get one demanding a large variety of goods, for which

they must work more constantly than in the past. This increased trade and demand for goods will benefit all in Natal, Government and individuals alike. The native trade going through East London to the advanced native population of the Transkei, has done much to make up for the loss of their carrying trade to the Transvaal; indeed without this native trade it would be difficult to see how that port, and other towns in the Eastern Province, could have lived through the depressed times.

The appointment of the right stamp of men as supervisors in the locations would not only tend to improve the natives, but might be a great help to the Government. We know now, how poor has been the intelligence department of the native authorities—such men would be eyes and ears to Government, and might give the most useful information. I know there have been supervisors before, and it will be said they were of little use in this respect. But will anyone, who knows, say the right men were appointed? Here, as elsewhere, through the native department, the greatest care must be taken to get the right men. This only means that we must do our business in a business-like way. And it can be done.

Now another point. At present the natives complain that the locations are getting overcrowded, there is no room for them, and they are driven to live on private farms, and have to pay high rents, higher, they allege, than they can manage to pay. And, *per contra*, farms which formerly supported large numbers of natives are being taken up for European occupation, and notice is given to the natives to quit. Where are they to go, with the locations as they say, crowded out? I know an instance in which a friend of mine bought a 6,000

acre farm for his sons. It was fully occupied by natives. I do not know the exact number of huts, but I do know they had 800 head of mixed cattle, as well as small stock. Requiring the farm for his own stock, it was obviously impossible for my friend to allow them to remain, and he gave them notice. This is the position to-day, but where they are to find accommodation for themselves and their stock, is a problem which my friend, who knows the country intimately, cannot answer.

The natives are right, living as they do at present, with their slovenly and unproductive methods of agriculture and stock-raising, they cannot find room, and a serious problem faces us under this head. But the more they improve their methods of agriculture the more room there will be for increased numbers, and the congestion threatening them may be postponed in proportion as they improve.

While on the subject of labour I would ask: How, under our present methods, can we expect to get a reliable and regular supply of labour? A native man comes from his kraal 20, 30, 40 miles to town, leaving wife and children. The accommodation often given him is not of the best, the food, as compared with what he got at home, though sufficient, is certainly monotonous. He has no means, excepting through an occasional visitor, of knowing how things are going on at home. Under such circumstances, is it to be wondered at that he gets home-sick, and after a few months cannot be tempted to remain at work?

Suggestions have been frequently made that locations should be established near towns, where married labourers could live, and have their families

and possibly have a plot of garden ground, as is done in the Old Colony. The Hon. F. R. Moor and Supt. Alexander have constantly advocated this, but nothing has been done. Could not, at all events, a beginning be made? Cases have come under my personal notice in which natives, living under these conditions in Natal, have worked continuously, in one case for 25 years, without any greater break than would be in the case of an English agricultural labourer. I do not say this would be so in all instances, but certainly our present system does not encourage continuous and reliable work.

If in process of time it was found that location natives took kindly to instruction and improved methods, it might be wise, by small degrees to give them individual titles to plots of land, subject to good and loyal behaviour, but, on this subject I will say more when speaking of the advanced class of native.

It is impossible to deal exhaustively with the Native Question without touching on the subject of Polygamy. Many of those who wish well to the natives, and who are intimately acquainted with them, think that this custom is at the root of all the evils which they consider are present in the social system of the natives. Mr. Plant would gradually abolish it by law, giving a few years' notice of the intention to do so, and mentions five years as the length of such notice. He says: "The rankling sore from which most of the evils of which we complain proceed, upon which we need to put our fingers, and so deal with it, that the festering place shall be for ever healed, is Polygamy."

This is about the only important point upon which I

am at issue with Mr. Plant. Later on, we shall see what the Native Commission Report says about this question, but long before they sat, both from personal observation and enquiries made from those resident among large native populations, I formed the opinion that Polygamy was gradually dying out. It can hardly be otherwise. In old times, when inter-tribal wars and "eating up" were common, a considerable proportion of the men were killed, and their women and children were the property of the victors, and Polygamy was the natural outcome of a preponderance of women. Now all is changed, and the census shows only a slight preponderance of women over men. Bachelors are rare and old maids unknown among our natives, and it would be impossible, under present conditions, that any very large proportion of the men should have a plurality of wives. The practice is so interwoven with the whole life of those we are considering, has probably been followed by untold generations, that any attempt to forcibly prevent it would be attended, both on the part of women and men, with great dissatisfaction, which might lead to grave results.

The altered conditions, the acceptance of Christian doctrine, the advance of civilization, will carry on the process already begun and gradually, as a regular habit, it will die a natural death.

The Native Commission says in its Report:—"The Commission does not regard Polygamy as among those customs which have to be put down with a strong hand, but looks forward to its gradual extinction by such means as greater spread of Christianity and of civilization, by the labour of women being more supplanted by that of men, and by the ordinary laws

being voluntarily adopted, and owing to the absence of any great surplus of women, without which general Polygamy is impossible for any length of time."

CHAPTER V.

THE AMAKOLWA.

So far my remarks have been principally applicable to the ordinary kraal native, living under his chief as his fathers have done for generations past. When introducing the subject I said it was essential for its proper elucidation that we should distinguish between the people in their ancestral condition, and those who had come out from among them, having abandoned Polygamy and attained some degree of education and civilization. Of these latter I would now speak more particularly.

With the exception of the trouble in the Richmond district, in which those accepting "Ethiopianism" were concerned, the unrest and defiance of authority has been among the tribal natives. Those of the class we are now considering have passed resolutions supporting the Government in putting down disaffection, have volunteered aid in military operations, and their help has been accepted by Government. All this confirms the opinion of those who know them well—that they are a law-regarding people, on the side of law and order, and anxious to show by their actions that they recognize the advantages of settled Government and civilization.

I feel sure that the men of Edendale and Driefontein will be valuable allies, and that the Government will not regret having trusted them. One of their chief complaints indeed is that the Government is too reluctant

to accept their services, and to give them such recognition as they think they deserve. They have come out from among their people, have sacrificed much by so doing, have made strenuous personal efforts to improve themselves, and have, to a certain point, succeeded in doing so. Have we on our part recognized these efforts and given them the help and encouragement which is the due of many of them? I fear not.

Their plea is put clearly, almost plaintively, by Mr. Plant:—"Responding to the ideals of life that we have presented to them, some of the best natives have given up absolutely the old heathen life, and honestly set their faces in the direction of these ideals, but only to find that as soon as they begin to get their heads above the moral wreckage around them there are a thousand hands stretched out to hold them just there, and a thousand voices calling upon them to 'keep their proper place,' and 'not to try to be the equal of the white man.' No wonder that if tired of holding on, in that awkward position, many let go, and are swallowed up in the seething flood from whence they had almost been delivered."

The position of these natives is a very difficult one. They have travelled a certain distance along the path of advancement, hoping to make still further progress, and they find the way barred; instead of a vista of continuous progress giving them hope and an outlook, they find a blank wall. They have been told in the past that their duty was to try and live a higher and better life. They have tried honestly to do so, and find now, that instead of encouragement they get sneers. Many of them are able to read the newspapers, and find that their

attempts are decried, and are told they are worse than their heathen brethren. This is the attitude of too many Colonists, and that of the Government is little better.

The Native Department exists for the protection and benefit of the natives, and how does it assist to raise them? Instances are better than generalizations. An educated native, in spite of many difficulties, started an industrial school. He was unable to obtain the assistance he required in this country, so he went to America, where he succeeded in getting it. He returned to Natal, where he acquired about 200 or 300 acres of land, erected some buildings, got implements and machinery, and made a start. His efforts interested an influential gentleman in the neighbourhood, who watched what was being done, and feeling that a genuine effort at progress was being made which deserved recognition, and, in any case, advise and supervision would be desirable, called the attention of the Native Department to the attempt. He asked them to visit the place, to make full enquiry, and if they were satisfied, to give a small money grant, and to exercise some supervision in order to keep the experiment on right lines.

Even if the Department did not see reason to aid by a grant and by advice, they should know all about it, and should make a personal inspection to keep in touch with what was being done. The Department should have been grateful to this gentleman for the trouble he had taken, and done as he suggested. It was their clear duty to do so. The matter apparently did not interest them, and this educated native was left to do as he liked, for anything Government knew or

apparently cared, to form a centre for mischief or sedition. Look at it from the point of view of the native who organized the attempt. No interest, no help, no advice, no control from those he would naturally look to for all these; he leaves the country to get what we should have supplied. If through our carelessness and neglect he, in his travels, imbibes theories we regard as subversive of order and good government, if he makes mistakes and trouble ensues, can we wonder at it, and whom, in that case, can we blame but ourselves? Since writing this I have been told that one of those previously holding the position of Secretary for Native Affairs did want to take action in this matter, but could not get his fellow Ministers to agree to this.

But the particular point I wish to make is, that we do not give these men who are really trying to help themselves, any outlook—any hope; and a hopeless man is a dangerous man. At present we have these people on our side. They are anxious to help us in any way they can, in however humble a fashion. In serious trouble, I believe they would be a source of great help to us, and they might, properly led and advised, be of great assistance to the country in times of peace by example to the less advanced members of their race. But will this continue to be the case unless we, on our side, do somewhat to help to encourage and give them heart in their difficult task? I fear the hopelessness of the outlook, and the feeling that they have a barrier in front of them, may cause some to take a view of the future, dangerous to the peace of the Colony. Behind them are hundreds of thousands of men of their race, an immense weight of physical force, but without combination or organization,

and lacking intelligence. Intelligence and education they have, and an attempt by some of the ambitious and dissatisfied amongst them may lead to a combination of their acquirements with the physical force.

If we are wise, I do not think there is the slightest danger of this happening. I do not think, if we do our duty, there is any serious danger of the noxious doctrines connected with Ethiopianism getting root in the hearts of these people, but we may, by our carelessness and neglect of the native and his interests, allow seed beds to be formed in which these doctrines will grow.

Our policy with these people must be, generally speaking, on the same lines advocated for their less advanced brethren. They should certainly have more opportunities given them by Government for education. All such education should include practical training in agriculture and handicraft, and special attention given to order, method, punctuality, and cleanliness. As in the case of the other class of native, the expense need not be heavy, as the work of the pupils properly managed would help considerably to reduce current expenses.

I would insist that our object is not to turn out a few native phenomena full of book learning and too often conceit, but to raise the status of the mass, to show them we consider them, wish to help them to advance, and give them hope and an outlook.

At the present time, scattered in the locations, are numbers of people of this class, and owing to the difference in their customs, manners, and point of view, trouble arises between them and the chief and his immediate followers. It might be well if those so situated were encouraged to leave the locations for the Mission Re-

of money, and this once obtained, his wants are satisfied, and he remains at his kraal idle and unproductive; consequently the higher wages he receives the shorter time he works. It is, therefore, in the interests of the community, that his wages should be low that the benefit of his labour may be received for a longer period. Now this is, at best, only a part truth.

In my own experience I know natives who for fifteen or twenty years have received much above the ordinary rate of wages, and who to-day are working as regularly as they did when I first knew them. I know one old man who was about the first native I saw when I landed in the Colony nearly thirty-one years ago. He was then in receipt of wages higher than the common, as he was known and appreciated, and only the other day I saw him working as usual. A friend and correspondent in the Transvaal, with a most intimate knowledge of natives, and who is brought into daily contact with them, tells me this is also his experience. He personally knows highly-paid natives from Natal by the score, who return constantly to work in Johannesburg, though the amount of money they earn must total up to a large sum.

The fact is that the wants of the native are constantly increasing. As he gets more money he spends more money, and once embarked on a certain line of expenditure he has (like the white man) to continue, he cannot stop, so must work to supply his acquired wants. The line of policy I am advocating will ensure this to a large degree, as it progresses, and instead of a population requiring only salemfore, beads, and a few blankets, you will get one demanding a large variety of goods, for which

they must work more constantly than in the past. This increased trade and demand for goods will benefit all in Natal, Government and individuals alike. The native trade going through East London to the advanced native population of the Transkei, has done much to make up for the loss of their carrying trade to the Transvaal; indeed without this native trade it would be difficult to see how that port, and other towns in the Eastern Province, could have lived through the depressed times.

The appointment of the right stamp of men as supervisors in the locations would not only tend to improve the natives, but might be a great help to the Government. We know now, how poor has been the intelligence department of the native authorities—such men would be eyes and ears to Government, and might give the most useful information. I know there have been supervisors before, and it will be said they were of little use in this respect. But will anyone, who knows, say the right men were appointed? Here, as elsewhere, through the native department, the greatest care must be taken to get the right men. This only means that we must do our business in a business-like way. And it can be done.

Now another point. At present the natives complain that the locations are getting overcrowded, there is no room for them, and they are driven to live on private farms, and have to pay high rents, higher, they allege, than they can manage to pay. And, *per contra*, farms which formerly supported large numbers of natives are being taken up for European occupation, and notice is given to the natives to quit. Where are they to go, with the locations as they say, crowded out? I know an instance in which a friend of mine bought a 6,000

acre farm for his sons. It was fully occupied by natives. I do not know the exact number of huts, but I do know they had 800 head of mixed cattle, as well as small stock. Requiring the farm for his own stock, it was obviously impossible for my friend to allow them to remain, and he gave them notice. This is the position to-day, but where they are to find accommodation for themselves and their stock, is a problem which my friend, who knows the country intimately, cannot answer.

The natives are right, living as they do at present, with their slovenly and unproductive methods of agriculture and stock-raising, they cannot find room, and a serious problem faces us under this head. But the more they improve their methods of agriculture the more room there will be for increased numbers, and the congestion threatening them may be postponed in proportion as they improve.

While on the subject of labour I would ask: How, under our present methods, can we expect to get a reliable and regular supply of labour? A native man comes from his kraal 20, 30, 40 miles to town, leaving wife and children. The accommodation often given him is not of the best, the food, as compared with what he got at home, though sufficient, is certainly monotonous. He has no means, excepting through an occasional visitor, of knowing how things are going on at home. Under such circumstances, is it to be wondered at that he gets home-sick, and after a few months cannot be tempted to remain at work?

Suggestions have been frequently made that locations should be established near towns, where married labourers could live, and have their families

and possibly have a plot of garden ground, as is done in the Old Colony. The Hon. F. R. Moor and Supt. Alexander have constantly advocated this, but nothing has been done. Could not, at all events, a beginning be made? Cases have come under my personal notice in which natives, living under these conditions in Natal, have worked continuously, in one case for 25 years, without any greater break than would be in the case of an English agricultural labourer. I do not say this would be so in all instances, but certainly our present system does not encourage continuous and reliable work.

If in process of time it was found that location natives took kindly to instruction and improved methods, it might be wise, by small degrees to give them individual titles to plots of land, subject to good and loyal behaviour, but, on this subject I will say more when speaking of the advanced class of native.

It is impossible to deal exhaustively with the Native Question without touching on the subject of Polygamy. Many of those who wish well to the natives, and who are intimately acquainted with them, think that this custom is at the root of all the evils which they consider are present in the social system of the natives. Mr. Plant would gradually abolish it by law, giving a few years' notice of the intention to do so, and mentions five years as the length of such notice. He says: "The rankling sore from which most of the evils of which we complain proceed, upon which we need to put our fingers, and so deal with it, that the festering place shall be for ever healed, is Polygamy."

This is about the only important point upon which I

am at issue with Mr. Plant. Later on, we shall see what the Native Commission Report says about this question, but long before they sat, both from personal observation and enquiries made from those resident among large native populations, I formed the opinion that Polygamy was gradually dying out. It can hardly be otherwise. In old times, when inter-tribal wars and "eating up" were common, a considerable proportion of the men were killed, and their women and children were the property of the victors, and Polygamy was the natural outcome of a preponderance of women. Now all is changed, and the census shows only a slight preponderance of women over men. Bachelors are rare and old maids unknown among our natives, and it would be impossible, under present conditions, that any very large proportion of the men should have a plurality of wives. The practice is so interwoven with the whole life of those we are considering, has probably been followed by untold generations, that any attempt to forcibly prevent it would be attended, both on the part of women and men, with great dissatisfaction, which might lead to grave results.

The altered conditions, the acceptance of Christian doctrine, the advance of civilization, will carry on the process already begun and gradually, as a regular habit, it will die a natural death.

The Native Commission says in its Report:—"The Commission does not regard Polygamy as among those customs which have to be put down with a strong hand, but looks forward to its gradual extinction by such means as greater spread of Christianity and of civilization, by the labour of women being more supplanted by that of men, and by the ordinary laws

being voluntarily adopted, and owing to the absence of any great surplus of women, without which general Polygamy is impossible for any length of time."

CHAPTER V.

THE AMAKOLWA.

So far my remarks have been principally applicable to the ordinary kraal native, living under his chief as his fathers have done for generations past. When introducing the subject I said it was essential for its proper elucidation that we should distinguish between the people in their ancestral condition, and those who had come out from among them, having abandoned Polygamy and attained some degree of education and civilization. Of these latter I would now speak more particularly.

With the exception of the trouble in the Richmond district, in which those accepting "Ethiopianism" were concerned, the unrest and defiance of authority has been among the tribal natives. Those of the class we are now considering have passed resolutions supporting the Government in putting down disaffection, have volunteered aid in military operations, and their help has been accepted by Government. All this confirms the opinion of those who know them well—that they are a law-regarding people, on the side of law and order, and anxious to show by their actions that they recognize the advantages of settled Government and civilization.

I feel sure that the men of Edendale and Driefontein will be valuable allies, and that the Government will not regret having trusted them. One of their chief complaints indeed is that the Government is too reluctant

to accept their services, and to give them such recognition as they think they deserve. They have come out from among their people, have sacrificed much by so doing, have made strenuous personal efforts to improve themselves, and have, to a certain point, succeeded in doing so. Have we on our part recognized these efforts and given them the help and encouragement which is the due of many of them? I fear not.

Their plea is put clearly, almost plaintively, by Mr. Plant:—"Responding to the ideals of life that we have presented to them, some of the best natives have given up absolutely the old heathen life, and honestly set their faces in the direction of these ideals, but only to find that as soon as they begin to get their heads above the moral wreckage around them there are a thousand hands stretched out to hold them just there, and a thousand voices calling upon them to 'keep their proper place,' and 'not to try to be the equal of the white man.' No wonder that if tired of holding on, in that awkward position, many let go, and are swallowed up in the seething flood from whence they had almost been delivered."

The position of these natives is a very difficult one. They have travelled a certain distance along the path of advancement, hoping to make still further progress, and they find the way barred; instead of a vista of continuous progress giving them hope and an outlook, they find a blank wall. They have been told in the past that their duty was to try and live a higher and better life. They have tried honestly to do so, and find now, that instead of encouragement they get sneers. Many of them are able to read the newspapers, and find that their

attempts are decried, and are told they are worse than their heathen brethren. This is the attitude of too many Colonists, and that of the Government is little better.

The Native Department exists for the protection and benefit of the natives, and how does it assist to raise them? Instances are better than generalizations. An educated native, in spite of many difficulties, started an industrial school. He was unable to obtain the assistance he required in this country, so he went to America, where he succeeded in getting it. He returned to Natal, where he acquired about 200 or 300 acres of land, erected some buildings, got implements and machinery, and made a start. His efforts interested an influential gentleman in the neighbourhood, who watched what was being done, and feeling that a genuine effort at progress was being made which deserved recognition, and, in any case, advise and supervision would be desirable, called the attention of the Native Department to the attempt. He asked them to visit the place, to make full enquiry, and if they were satisfied, to give a small money grant, and to exercise some supervision in order to keep the experiment on right lines.

Even if the Department did not see reason to aid by a grant and by advice, they should know all about it, and should make a personal inspection to keep in touch with what was being done. The Department should have been grateful to this gentleman for the trouble he had taken, and done as he suggested. It was their clear duty to do so. The matter apparently did not interest them, and this educated native was left to do as he liked, for anything Government knew or

apparently cared, to form a centre for mischief or sedition. Look at it from the point of view of the native who organized the attempt. No interest, no help, no advice, no control from those he would naturally look to for all these; he leaves the country to get what we should have supplied. If through our carelessness and neglect he, in his travels, imbibes theories we regard as subversive of order and good government, if he makes mistakes and trouble ensues, can we wonder at it, and whom, in that case, can we blame but ourselves? Since writing this I have been told that one of those previously holding the position of Secretary for Native Affairs did want to take action in this matter, but could not get his fellow Ministers to agree to this.

But the particular point I wish to make is, that we do not give these men who are really trying to help themselves, any outlook—any hope; and a hopeless man is a dangerous man. At present we have these people on our side. They are anxious to help us in any way they can, in however humble a fashion. In serious trouble, I believe they would be a source of great help to us, and they might, properly led and advised, be of great assistance to the country in times of peace by example to the less advanced members of their race. But will this continue to be the case unless we, on our side, do somewhat to help to encourage and give them heart in their difficult task? I fear the hopelessness of the outlook, and the feeling that they have a barrier in front of them, may cause some to take a view of the future, dangerous to the peace of the Colony. Behind them are hundreds of thousands of men of their race, an immense weight of physical force, but without combination or organization.

and lacking intelligence. Intelligence and education they have, and an attempt by some of the ambitious and dissatisfied amongst them may lead to a combination of their acquirements with the physical force.

If we are wise, I do not think there is the slightest danger of this happening. I do not think, if we do our duty, there is any serious danger of the noxious doctrines connected with Ethiopeanism getting root in the hearts of these people, but we may, by our carelessness and neglect of the native and his interests, allow seed beds to be formed in which these doctrines will grow.

Our policy with these people must be, generally speaking, on the same lines advocated for their less advanced brethren. They should certainly have more opportunities given them by Government for education. All such education should include practical training in agriculture and handicraft, and special attention given to order, method, punctuality, and cleanliness. As in the case of the other class of native, the expense need not be heavy, as the work of the pupils properly managed would help considerably to reduce current expenses.

I would insist that our object is not to turn out a few native phenomena full of book learning and too often conceit, but to raise the status of the mass, to show them we consider them, wish to help them to advance, and give them hope and an outlook.

At the present time, scattered in the locations, are numbers of people of this class, and owing to the difference in their customs, manners, and point of view, trouble arises between them and the chief and his immediate followers. It might be well if those so situated were encouraged to leave the locations for the Mission Re-

serves, where, under strict conditions, a long lease of a piece of land might be given to individuals, and the Mission Reserves might be made a centre of improved methods in building, agriculture, and living. Here again, I think there should be supervisors to encourage, advise, and teach the people. At the present time I am aware there are supervisors on some reserves, but I fear that care has not been exercised in their selection, which is always so absolutely essential if our government of the natives is to be a success.

I understand that on some of the Reserves, an undesirable, turbulent class of native has been allowed to settle. I think the supervisor or those in authority should have power to deal, in the most drastic manner, with those who misbehave themselves or create disturbance. Encourage, teach, advise, and help those who show themselves willing to learn, and who conduct themselves properly. Deal with the utmost severity with those who do not, and expel them from the Reserve, rather than have them to contaminate their respectable neighbours. Much good may be done by making the Mission Reserves centres of enlightenment, object lessons of high-living and work.

In time, too, either on the Reserves or on land elsewhere, experiments might be tried on the lines of the Glen-Grey settlement in the Old Colony, the basis of which is individual titles to land, only, however, to be held if the occupier is loyal and law-abiding; the management of the local affairs of the district is by a Native Council, under European control. All evidence goes to show that the natives have lived up to the responsibilities

they have undertaken, and, in time, a similar trial might be made in Natal.

At the present time, a certain number of these natives have, by permission of the Governor in Council, been exempted from Native Law. A very well-informed official, intimately acquainted with our natives, told me that he thought this privilege had been too often conferred on those who were unworthy. He instanced a conversation he had with an old, most thoughtful, and respected civilized native, who quite agreed with this, and said that this privilege had been conferred on many who were not fit for the responsibility, and the effect had been most pernicious. While greater care might be exercised than has always been done in the past, I would not be in favour of cancelling the opportunity for a really deserving native to come from under Native Law. It is an open door to higher things, and I think this door should remain open.

While the privilege of exemption may have been allowed with something of laxity, the same cannot be said in regard to the power of the Governor in Council to grant the franchise. A native may be given the right to exercise the franchise providing he is a male over 21 years of age, with the property qualifications applicable to Europeans, has resided in Natal for twelve years, been exempt from Native Law seven years, has a certificate of good character, and has the consent of the Governor. The consent has been given so seldom, that at present there are only TWO natives on the electoral rolls of the whole Colony. I am very averse to embroiling natives in politics, and believe that there is no immediate need for them to have the franchise, still I would not take away

here, any more than in the case of exemption, the opportunity to obtain the franchise by exceptional individuals. Indeed, I think little harm will be done if the Supreme Chief exercises his prerogative in this regard more frequently—to men of undoubted loyalty and character, and who deserve well of the Colony.

Some years ago, Mr. R. C. Samuelson, brother of the Principal Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, spoke to me about the possibility of employing natives of this class as a military force. Since then I have often talked it over with those interested in the matter, and given it a considerable amount of thought, and have come to the conclusion that the idea is a good one, and that, for many reasons, we should adopt it.

In the course of the conversation to which I have referred, many ideas were mooted as to the form of the force, its organization, etc., and from these I have evolved a scheme which I venture to put before my fellow Colonists, aware while doing so that it will meet with much opposition in some quarters, and possibly but little support from any.

Of course we must begin with the postulate that the class from which our force is to be recruited is thoroughly loyal. Personally, I have the greatest faith in them, and I do not believe that if they are trusted they will ever betray their trust. The class referred to are those who have, in past time, served the Colony loyally and well both actively against men of their own race, and as scouts during the late Boer War. To this class belong the men who died at Isandhlwana, fighting for civilization against barbarism, against whose loyalty I have never heard a word. Granting their loyalty, I see no reason

why we should not employ them to help us. I believe they are already with us; let us bind them to us in active co-operation, to preserve liberty, law and order against disorder and rebellion. The material is first-class, the men have physique, endurance, knowledge of country, to make, under European discipline, a magnificent force.

My plan in detail is somewhat as follows, subject of course to modification, as further experience dictated. The maximum number of the force should be 1,000 men, half foot and half mounted. At first only a quarter might be raised. All officers to be Europeans of military experience of undoubted character, able to speak the Zulu language, although I would not make inability to do so fluently an absolute disqualification. Non coma and men to be natives of the class of the men of Edendale and Driefontein, whose characters must bear the strictest investigation, guaranteed by such men as the head men of Driefontein Settlement.

Some education would be desirable; inability to read or write would not be a bar, but I would not allow any Polygamists to join. Either single or married men would be eligible, the latter preferred. They must join for a long term—say twenty-one years. They would be armed with modern rifles, and taught how to use them properly, and could also carry their native weapons, and be available for service in any part of South Africa.

I would not keep them in barracks, but form a military village or villages, provide each man with a cottage or hut, which could be built by himself on approved pattern, and if possible provide a plot of garden which he would be expected to keep in order and

cultivate as far as military duties would permit. Instruction would not only be given in drill, shooting, etc., to make an effective military force, but also in agriculture and handicrafts, to keep them fully employed in interesting and reproductive work. Commonage should be attached to the village, and a certain number of cattle and small stock allowed.

I believe if such a force was organized on these lines it would be esteemed an honour and a privilege to belong to it, and the Amakolwa would feel they were at last recognized and would appreciate it highly. There would be no difficulty in filling the ranks, indeed there would be keen competition to join, and the authorities could have the pick of the most suitable men in the Colony. And more, properly organized, these villages would be object lessons to the surrounding natives of what could be done with the land under proper conditions, and at one stroke we could have military organization and peaceful instruction. In this matter, as in all the others recommended, I would go slowly at first, make sure we are on right lines, then make a beginning, find out the best methods, and add to the structure as we gain experience.

I have in these pages ventured to make many suggestions, none of them, I may fairly claim, without serious thought, and feeling the responsibility which rests on all who endeavour to face this most difficult problem. I also claim that none of the suggestions made are of such a nature that they cannot be carried out with safety; most of them can be tried tentatively on a small scale before committing ourselves to them as a fixed line of policy. Many again are obvious, and generally agreed upon, and

only require that the Native Affairs Department shall be conducted on business-like lines. I do not think I have made any recommendation that can be called revolutionary. I said I considered myself in this matter a reasonable optimist. I will go further and say that with tact, thought, firmness and consideration for the native, we may in perfect safety, do much on the lines indicated to raise them to their great benefit and the benefit of the whole Colony, and lay the foundations of a rational Native Policy for the future.

A word or two about a class of people who are too likely to be forgotten. I refer to the half-castes. What I have said of the Amakolwa applies even with greater force to many of these people. They are with us, on our side, if we will have them. We should, in future, give them more consideration, and help them in all reasonable ways. They are in a difficult position, and we should do what we can to make it as little difficult as possible.

CHAPTER VI.

OBJECTIONS.

Before closing I would like to anticipate some objections, which I feel sure will be raised to some, at least, of my propositions. Probably the greatest opposition will be against my proposals to educate the natives in agricultural methods and in handicrafts, and these will be raised by the men at present engaged in these pursuits. The farmer may feel that it is unfair to instruct these people to a certain extent with public money, with the probable effect that the price of produce will be reduced.

The artisan will probably argue that the native will compete with him, and by reason of his lower standard of living bring down the wages and take away the work which is the right of the white man.

To the former I would say: We may educate the native as much as we will, we may be so successful as to enable him to raise double or treble the produce he does now, and yet there will be plenty of demand for the products you can raise. I only anticipate by all our efforts a very gradual improvement in native agriculture. He will probably, in time, raise greater quantities of mealies for sale and have larger crops for his own consumption. This may cause the price of mealies to fall, with the result that a larger quantity may be exported and enable us to pay for our imports. But to the progressive farmer cheap mealies should be a blessing.

The mealie should be the raw product of the European farmer, who with his capital and intelligence should turn it into all the valuable foodstuffs we now import in such quantities, and which should be produced in the country. If the native will do the rough work of production and grow cheap mealies, the advanced farmer can turn them into the bacon, hams, butter, cheese, beef, mutton, we are now buying from outsiders. The native will co-operate with, and not be a competitor of the European farmer.

At present, too, the farmer is heavily handicapped by the ignorance and unreliability of the labour he is forced to employ. If he could engage natives who were instructed to work intelligently, who could use implements instead of breaking them, who could be trusted to repair a cart or plough, to put up a fence, to erect rough out-

buildings, the benefit the farmer would derive from such would far outweigh any competition he might, under any circumstances, be called upon to face, and the benefit to the community would be enormous.

To the artisan I would say: One of your greatest disabilities in this Colony is the cost of living, and the fact that you cannot get, at reasonable prices, the fresh food you require for the proper health of yourselves and your families. Instead of being able to obtain fresh milk, dairy produce, fruit, vegetables, meat, so necessary if your children are to grow up strong and healthy, you have to eat frozen and tinned foods at a high cost. If the natives were trained and became producers, so that we could grow, in the Colony, what is required, you would greatly benefit both in price and quality in the commodities you required.

I do not think you need fear the competition of the native. At most he would only do the rough work of the trades, the portions requiring skill, intelligence, and adaptability, would still be yours. I do not think any European need fear the competition of the natives in skilled or partially skilled work. If we got these people to work steadily, to help to increase the general wealth of the Colony, it would come back to you many fold in the general progress. With more reliable and intelligent manual labour, enterprises could be started, now impossible, or possible only by employing imported Asiatic labour, a far more serious menace to you than ever the native is likely to be.

After all it is not a question of choice. To go on in the laissez-faire fashion of the past is impossible. The natives are here, ever increasing, and they will be here

apparently cared, to form a centre for mischief or sedition. Look at it from the point of view of the native who organized the attempt. No interest, no help, no advice, no control from those he would naturally look to for all these; he leaves the country to get what we should have supplied. If through our carelessness and neglect he, in his travels, imbibes theories we regard as subversive of order and good government, if he makes mistakes and trouble ensues, can we wonder at it, and whom, in that case, can we blame but ourselves? Since writing this I have been told that one of those previously holding the position of Secretary for Native Affairs did want to take action in this matter, but could not get his fellow Ministers to agree to this.

But the particular point I wish to make is, that we do not give these men who are really trying to help themselves, any outlook—any hope; and a hopeless man is a dangerous man. At present we have these people on our side. They are anxious to help us in any way they can, in however humble a fashion. In serious trouble, I believe they would be a source of great help to us, and they might, properly led and advised, be of great assistance to the country in times of peace by example to the less advanced members of their race. But will this continue to be the case unless we, on our side, do somewhat to help to encourage and give them heart in their difficult task? I fear the hopelessness of the outlook, and the feeling that they have a barrier in front of them, may cause some to take a view of the future, dangerous to the peace of the Colony. Behind them are hundreds of thousands of men of their race, an immense weight of physical force, but without combination or organization,

and lacking intelligence. Intelligence and education they have, and an attempt by some of the ambitious and dissatisfied amongst them may lead to a combination of their acquirements with the physical force.

If we are wise, I do not think there is the slightest danger of this happening I do not think, if we do our duty, there is any serious danger of the noxious doctrines connected with Ethiopianism getting root in the hearts of these people, but we may, by our carelessness and neglect of the native and his interests, allow seed beds to be formed in which these doctrines will grow.

Our policy with these people must be, generally speaking, on the same lines advocated for their less advanced brethren. They should certainly have more opportunities given them by Government for education. All such education should include practical training in agriculture and handicraft, and special attention given to order, method, punctuality, and cleanliness. As in the case of the other class of native, the expense need not be heavy, as the work of the pupils properly managed would help considerably to reduce current expenses.

I would insist that our object is not to turn out a few native phenomena full of book learning and too often conceit, but to raise the status of the mass, to show them we consider them, wish to help them to advance, and give them hope and an outlook.

At the present time, scattered in the locations, are numbers of people of this class, and owing to the difference in their customs, manners, and point of view, trouble arises between them and the chief and his immediate followers. It might be well if those so situated were encouraged to leave the locations for the Mission Re-

serves, where, under strict conditions, a long lease of a piece of land might be given to individuals, and the Mission Reserves might be made a centre of improved methods in building, agriculture, and living. Here again, I think there should be supervisors to encourage, advise, and teach the people. At the present time I am aware there are supervisors on some reserves, but I fear that care has not been exercised in their selection, which is always so absolutely essential if our government of the natives is to be a success.

I understand that on some of the Reserves, an undesirable, turbulent class of native has been allowed to settle. I think the supervisor or those in authority should have power to deal, in the most drastic manner, with those who misbehave themselves or create disturbance. Encourage, teach, advise, and help those who show themselves willing to learn, and who conduct themselves properly. Deal with the utmost severity with those who do not, and expel them from the Reserve, rather than have them to contaminate their respectable neighbours. Much good may be done by making the Mission Reserves centres of enlightenment, object lessons of high-living and work.

In time, too, either on the Reserves or on land elsewhere, experiments might be tried on the lines of the Glen-Grey settlement in the Old Colony, the basis of which is individual titles to land, only, however, to be held if the occupier is loyal and law-abiding; the management of the local affairs of the district is by a Native Council, under European control. All evidence goes to show that the natives have lived up to the responsibilities

they have undertaken, and, in time, a similar trial might be made in Natal.

At the present time, a certain number of these natives have, by permission of the Governor in Council, been exempted from Native Law. A very well-informed official, intimately acquainted with our natives, told me that he thought this privilege had been too often conferred on those who were unworthy. He instanced a conversation he had with an old, most thoughtful, and respected civilized native, who quite agreed with this, and said that this privilege had been conferred on many who were not fit for the responsibility, and the effect had been most pernicious. While greater care might be exercised than has always been done in the past, I would not be in favour of cancelling the opportunity for a really deserving native to come from under Native Law. It is an open door to higher things, and I think this door should remain open.

While the privilege of exemption may have been allowed with something of laxity, the same cannot be said in regard to the power of the Governor in Council to grant the franchise. A native may be given the right to exercise the franchise providing he is a male over 21 years of age, with the property qualifications applicable to Europeans, has resided in Natal for twelve years, been exempt from Native Law seven years, has a certificate of good character, and has the consent of the Governor. The consent has been given so seldom, that at present there are only TWO natives on the electoral rolls of the whole Colony. I am very averse to embroiling natives in politics, and believe that there is no immediate need for them to have the franchise, still I would not take away

here, any more than in the case of exemption, the opportunity to obtain the franchise by exceptional individuals. Indeed, I think little harm will be done if the Supreme Chief exercises his prerogative in this regard more frequently—to men of undoubted loyalty and character, and who deserve well of the Colony.

Some years ago, Mr. R. C. Samuelson, brother of the Principal Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, spoke to me about the possibility of employing natives of this class as a military force. Since then I have often talked it over with those interested in the matter, and given it a considerable amount of thought, and have come to the conclusion that the idea is a good one, and that, for many reasons, we should adopt it.

In the course of the conversation to which I have referred, many ideas were mooted as to the form of the force, its organization, etc., and from these I have evolved a scheme which I venture to put before my fellow Colonists, aware while doing so that it will meet with much opposition in some quarters, and possibly but little support from any.

Of course we must begin with the postulate that the class from which our force is to be recruited is thoroughly loyal. Personally, I have the greatest faith in them, and I do not believe that if they are trusted they will ever betray their trust. The class referred to are those who have, in past time, served the Colony loyally and well both actively against men of their own race, and as scouts during the late Boer War. To this class belong the men who died at Isandhlwana, fighting for civilization against barbarism, against whose loyalty I have never heard a word. Granting their loyalty, I see no reason

why we should not employ them to help us. I believe they are already with us; let us bind them to us in active co-operation, to preserve liberty, law and order against disorder and rebellion. The material is first-class, the men have physique, endurance, knowledge of country, to make, under European discipline, a magnificent force.

My plan in detail is somewhat as follows, subject of course to modification, as further experience dictated. The maximum number of the force should be 1,000 men, half foot and half mounted. At first only a quarter might be raised. All officers to be Europeans of military experience of undoubted character, able to speak the Zulu language, although I would not make inability to do so fluently an absolute disqualification. Non coms. and men to be natives of the class of the men of Edendale and Driefontein, whose characters must bear the strictest investigation, guaranteed by such men as the head men of Driefontein Settlement.

Some education would be desirable; inability to read or write would not be a bar, but I would not allow any Polygamists to join. Either single or married men would be eligible, the latter preferred. They must join for a long term—say twenty-one years. They would be armed with modern rifles, and taught how to use them properly, and could also carry their native weapons, and be available for service in any part of South Africa.

I would not keep them in barracks, but form a military village or villages, provide each man with a cottage or hut, which could be built by himself on approved pattern, and if possible provide a plot of garden which he would be expected to keep in order and

cultivate as far as military duties would permit. Instruction would not only be given in drill, shooting, etc., to make an effective military force, but also in agriculture and handicrafts, to keep them fully employed in interesting and reproductive work. Commonage should be attached to the village, and a certain number of cattle and small stock allowed.

I believe if such a force was organized on these lines it would be esteemed an honour and a privilege to belong to it, and the Amakolwa would feel they were at last recognized and would appreciate it highly. There would be no difficulty in filling the ranks, indeed there would be keen competition to join, and the authorities could have the pick of the most suitable men in the Colony. And more, properly organized, these villages would be object lessons to the surrounding natives of what could be done with the land under proper conditions, and at one stroke we could have military organization and peaceful instruction. In this matter, as in all the others recommended, I would go slowly at first, make sure we are on right lines, then make a beginning, find out the best methods, and add to the structure as we gain experience.

I have in these pages ventured to make many suggestions, none of them, I may fairly claim, without serious thought, and feeling the responsibility which rests on all who endeavour to face this most difficult problem. I also claim that none of the suggestions made are of such a nature that they cannot be carried out with safety; most of them can be tried tentatively on a small scale before committing ourselves to them as a fixed line of policy. Many again are obvious, and generally agreed upon, and

only require that the Native Affairs Department shall be conducted on business-like lines. I do not think I have made any recommendation that can be called revolutionary. I said I considered myself in this matter a reasonable optimist. I will go further and say that with tact, thought, firmness and consideration for the native, we may in perfect safety, do much on the lines indicated to raise them to their great benefit and the benefit of the whole Colony, and lay the foundations of a rational Native Policy for the future.

A word or two about a class of people who are too likely to be forgotten. I refer to the half-castes. What I have said of the Amakolwa applies even with greater force to many of these people. They are with us, on our side, if we will have them. We should, in future, give them more consideration, and help them in all reasonable ways. They are in a difficult position, and we should do what we can to make it as little difficult as possible.

CHAPTER VI.

OBJECTIONS.

Before closing I would like to anticipate some objections, which I feel sure will be raised to some, at least, of my propositions. Probably the greatest opposition will be against my proposals to educate the natives in agricultural methods and in handicrafts, and these will be raised by the men at present engaged in these pursuits. The farmer may feel that it is unfair to instruct these people to a certain extent with public money, with the probable effect that the price of produce will be reduced.

The artisan will probably argue that the native will compete with him, and by reason of his lower standard of living bring down the wages and take away the work which is the right of the white man.

To the former I would say: We may educate the native as much as we will, we may be so successful as to enable him to raise double or treble the produce he does now, and yet there will be plenty of demand for the products you can raise. I only anticipate by all our efforts a very gradual improvement in native agriculture. He will probably, in time, raise greater quantities of mealies for sale and have larger crops for his own consumption. This may cause the price of mealies to fall, with the result that a larger quantity may be exported and enable us to pay for our imports. But to the progressive farmer cheap mealies should be a blessing.

The mealie should be the raw product of the European farmer, who with his capital and intelligence should turn it into all the valuable foodstuffs we now import in such quantities, and which should be produced in the country. If the native will do the rough work of production and grow cheap mealies, the advanced farmer can turn them into the bacon, hams, butter, cheese, beef, mutton, we are now buying from outsiders. The native will co-operate with, and not be a competitor of the European farmer.

At present, too, the farmer is heavily handicapped by the ignorance and unreliability of the labour he is forced to employ. If he could engage natives who were instructed to work intelligently, who could use implements instead of breaking them, who could be trusted to repair a cart or plough, to put up a fence, to erect rough out-

buildings, the benefit the farmer would derive from such would far outweigh any competition he might, under any circumstances, be called upon to face, and the benefit to the community would be enormous.

To the artisan I would say: One of your greatest disabilities in this Colony is the cost of living, and the fact that you cannot get, at reasonable prices, the fresh food you require for the proper health of yourselves and your families. Instead of being able to obtain fresh milk, dairy produce, fruit, vegetables, meat, so necessary if your children are to grow up strong and healthy, you have to eat frozen and tinned foods at a high cost. If the natives were trained and became producers, so that we could grow, in the Colony, what is required, you would greatly benefit both in price and quality in the commodities you required.

I do not think you need fear the competition of the native. At most he would only do the rough work of the trades, the portions requiring skill, intelligence, and adaptability, would still be yours. I do not think any European need fear the competition of the natives in skilled or partially skilled work. If we got these people to work steadily, to help to increase the general wealth of the Colony, it would come back to you many fold in the general progress. With more reliable and intelligent manual labour, enterprises could be started, now impossible, or possible only by employing imported Asiatic labour, a far more serious menace to you than ever the native is likely to be.

After all it is not a question of choice. To go on in the laissez-faire fashion of the past is impossible. The natives are here, ever increasing, and they will be here

64 THE NATIVE PROBLEM IN NATAL.

for all time, as far as we can see. The only possible way to prevent disaster is to face our clear duty and act for these people, for their own good and for ours. The only course open to us is to give them scope for their activities, to give them an interest in the new life opening before them, and that interest can only be given along the line of Industry.

The community, and every individual in the community, has, in this respect, an immense responsibility. We should so act, both in our individual and corporate capacity, as to win the respect of these our wards; so act that our name shall stand to them for all that is right, just, honourable.

It is a great task, one worthy of our race, and by the result shall we be judged. May we take up our duty like men, without haste, but never forgetting this our great responsibility.

L



3 6105 07212 0327

HOOVER LIBRARIES
STANFORD INSTITUTION

To avoid fine, this book should be returned on
or before the date last stamped below

20M-11-66-15880

FOR USE IN
LIBRARY ONLY

JUN 12 1968

JUN 1990

